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THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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JANUARY, 1941



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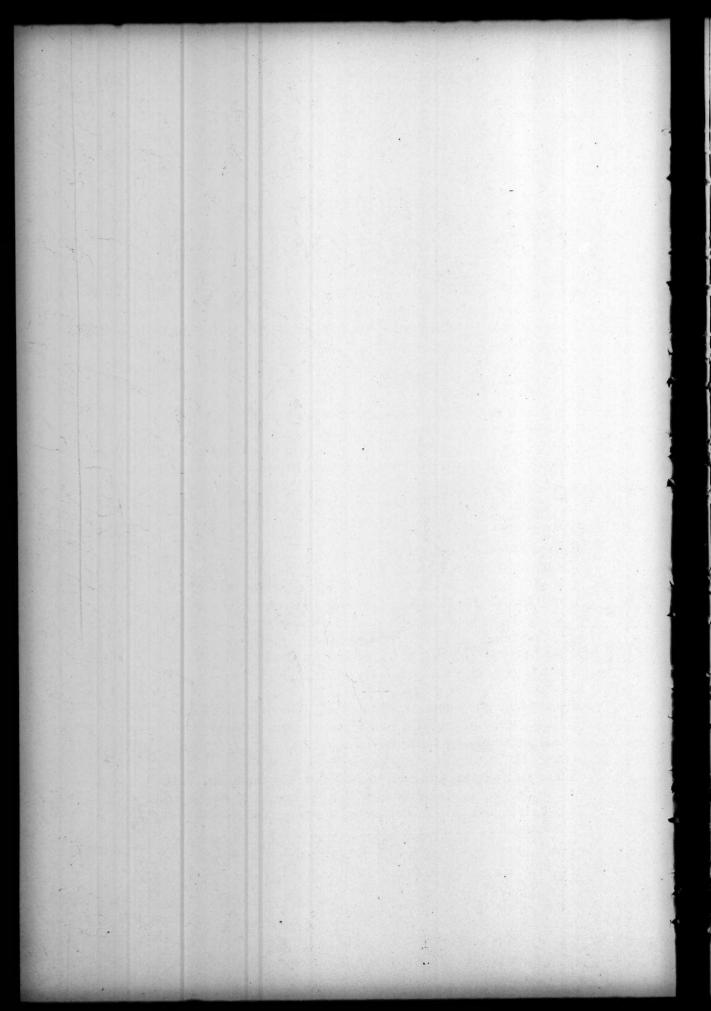
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vol. 24, No. 1

JANUARY, 1941

	Page
Pierre Clement De Laussat: An Intimate Portrait, by André Lafargue	5
The Huntsmen of Black Ivory, by John Smith Kendall	9
Some Interesting Glimpses of Louisiana a Century Ago, by Walter Prichard	35
The Life of Richard Taylor, by Jackson Beauregard Davis	49
The Diminishing Influences of German Culture in New Orleans Life Since 1865, by William Robinson Konrad	127
George Washington Cable's Literary Apprenticeship, by Arlin Turner	168
New Orleans Lynchings of 1891 and the American Press, by Alexander Karlin	187
Book Reviews. Reviewed by Harris G. Warren and André Lafargue	205
Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana LXXXVI, July-September, 1762. (Continued from October, 1940, Quarterly), by G. Lugano	211
Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana LXVIII, June, 1784. (Continued from October, 1940, Quar- terly), by Laura L. Porteous; Marginal Notes by Walter Prichard	258



THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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PIERRE CLEMENT DE LAUSSAT: AN INTIMATE PORTRAIT*

BY ANDRÉ LAFARGUE

"Le vrai seul est aimable", "Truth alone is appealing". Such is the motto that Pierre Clement de Laussat, Colonial Prefect and High Commissioner, sent to Louisiana by Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, to hold sway over the former French colony and to eventually effect its retrocession and transfer from Spain to France and from France to the United States, in 1803, had adopted for his ex libris. The motto and the design on this ex libris are truly characteristic of the man. The design is suggestive of strength, will, power and domination. Towers and turreted embattlements are guarded by crouching lions on this literary coat of arms or escutcheon and inscribed on the leaves of an open book are the words which I have just quoted: "Truth alone is appealing". A most fitting literary emblem and an admirable slogan for the one who spent here in Louisiana just barely a year, from late March of 1803 to April of 1804, and who during that short time, called upon to play the most important part in the great political drama that was being enacted on the shores of the Mississippi, measured up fully to the requirements of the test and showed himself to be a most worthy representative of both Republican and Imperial France. I said that he had played the "most important part" because it should not be forgotten that he alone participated in the two ceremonies and their rituals that definitely and solemnly consecrated and ratified the retrocession of Louisiana from Spain to France and the subsequent transfer from France to the United States, which we are celebrating tonight, on its 136th anniversary.

^{*} Paper read before the Louisiana Historical Society at its regular meeting on December 20, 1939.

What sort of man was this Pierre Clement de Laussat? Of his physical appearance we have two portraits here in this Cabildo, one in the Sala Capitular, which you can gaze upon, and the other (which I consider the more valuable of the two) adorns Mr. Fortier's private office. The portrait in this assembly room, which the Colonial Prefect and High Commissioner graced with his presence, time and again during his stay in New Orleans, is by Gille Colson and is the reproduction of an original in the main gallery of the Chateau de Bernadets, near Pau, in the Department of the Basses Pyrenees, France, the place where de Laussat retired and died after his eventful life and which he transmitted to his descendants, one of whom occupies it today, Count Antoine du Pre de St. Maur. I say that I prefer the portrait in Mr. Fortier's office, because it is unquestionably a striking resemblance of the man at the time that he occupied his exalted functions in Louisiana. In addition thereto it is evidently a real work of art and, if I am not mistaken, an original or duplicate original.

Pierre Clement de Laussat was born in the city of Pau, the county seat of the Basses Pyrenees Department, on November 23, 1756. At the time that he arrived in Louisiana he was fortyseven years old. He says so himself in his Memoirs. The portrait hung here in this Sala Capitular above those of Wilkinson and Claiborne is that of a much younger man. The de Laussat that it represents is in his thirties, in the full flush of his juvenile assurance and contentment, if I may so express myself. De Laussat is clad in the garb worn by the aristocracy of the latter part of the reign of Louis XVI and by those of gentle birth and education, who later formed the right wing of the liberal-minded sons of revolutionary France. De Laussat could not have possibly looked as young and as dashing as the portrait in this Sala Capitular depicts him. To get an idea of how he looked in 1803, in the eventful Louisiana Purchase year, one must repair to the office of Mr. Fortier and gaze upon the splendid portrait, showing the Colonial Prefect and High Commissioner, in a sitting posture, wearing with dignity and grace his official uniform and looking every inch of his person the aristocratic, elegant and yet serious and sober-minded man entrusted with a task that must have been a heart-rending one to him, for private as well as public reasons. The de Laussat that you behold in this second portrait is a much maturer man, one who has lived through some of the most excit-

ing and soul-harassing periods of the history of the human race, the French Revolution, one who has seen untold atrocities committed by a mad and irresponsible rabble and yet one who realized and knew and hoped that the days of the monarchical regime as established in France, with its dictatorial and unjust features, had come to an end through the enlightenment which the encyclopedists and the philosophers of the eighteenth century had brought to their fellow men. In mien, in appearance, in demeanor, in the language which he used, in his daily conduct, at home or in public, de Laussat was an aristocrat, but one of the liberalminded type, like so many who had felt in a spirit of justice and of human emancipation that his fellow men of low or high degree were entitled to certain inalienable rights and prerogatives: individual liberty, freedom of speech and assembly and the right to worship as one sees fit. I would have liked to have heard de Laussat address his fellow revolutionists at their great gatherings in Paris in the halls of the Convention, of the Constitutional meetings or in the bloodcurdling assemblies that voted upon the downfall of royalty and the executions of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. I would have liked to have seen his deportment in the days of the Directoire, of the Proconsulate. He was unquestionably a reasonable and broad-minded individual, at times imbued with the importance of his functions and prone, as were the men of his day, to indulge in grandiloquent language on public occasions, but under any and all circumstances deeply devoted to his native country and impressed with the necessity of making a good showing socially and politically although handicapped by the fact that the home government had not sent him the military contingent which he had been promised at the time when he left France in December of 1802 and the lack of which was so visibly apparent in the retrocession and transfer ceremonies to which we have just alluded.

He has been accused of being very punctilious in his social activities and in the formal functions in which he participated or over which he presided. In the days that preceded the retrocession on November 30, 1803, and the transfer to the United States on December 20, 1803, one hundred and thirty-six years ago, he was entertained by the retiring Spanish functionaries, Salcedo and Casa Calvo, with great munificence. Historians tell us that after Louisiana had been formally turned over to France, during the twenty days that he acted both as Colonial Prefect and as

High Commissioner, he spared no effort in endowing the colony with a new form of democratic government and likewise in entertaining in this very same Cabildo in truly princely fashion. Were the walls encompassing this building able to speak, they would tell eloquently of a certain function which began at six P.M. (a banquet, a ball and an early morning repast) and which finished at six A.M. with Salcedo, fast asleep, seated in front of de Laussat, who candidly admitted that he had entertained him to the very last minute and had won out by "one wink of the eye", for he fell asleep likewise after drowsily making sure that his guests had departed and that the most important one was hors de combat.

After leaving Louisiana he was appointed governor of Martinique, maritime prefect of Antwerp and Jemappes, both today Belgian cities. He served his country very ably as governor of French Guiana and was made a baron by Charles X. He then retired to his chateau of Bernadets, where he lived in peace and happiness among his family. He was a most loyal and most affectionate and gallant husband to his handsome wife, whose death proved a severe and hastening blow for the end. He died in 1835 at the age of seventy-nine, with the last words upon his lips, "my country, my wife and my children", who had made him truly happy and who fully vindicated the motto of his ex libris: "Truth alone is amiable or appealing."

In this short biographical sketch it has been my aim to bring Pierre Clement de Laussat closest to you, as a man, an official, and a devoted father and husband. And I really think that we are fortunate indeed that we should have in this Cabildo two portraits which show him as a youthful and liberal-minded revolutionist and as a man nearing his fifties wearing with princely dignity his uniform of Colonial Prefect and High Commissioner.

THE HUNTSMEN OF BLACK IVORY

By JOHN SMITH KENDALL

I.

Crime in New Orleans was what one would expect from a place with its peculiar antecedents. From the beginning, people there did things with a special ferocity that, I fancy, can be matched nowhere in more temperate climes or amidst populations less complicated as to forebears. French and Spanish, Negro and Indian make some volcanic combinations. One might expect anything from men and women in whose veins flowed any one or any combination of these fiery bloods. So when we turn back the pages of the city's history and read its criminal annals, we find there strange splashes of burning crimson, where some tortured soul has wreaked itself upon an enemy society in terrible and bloody ways.

For instance, there was that matter of piracy—and Jean Laffite.

Laffite was the natural—perhaps the inevitable—result of a series of curious events running far back in the history of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean,—at least as far back as the year 1716 and the collapse of the elder school of piracy in that year. That school, ably represented by L'Olonnois, Captain Kidd, and Sir Henry Morgan, had left a trail of death and rapine from New York town to Madagascar, from Jamaica to Panama. The last notable exploit which can be credited to it, however, was the raid of Henry Jennings on the Florida coast, when, in the year mentioned, he pillaged a wrecked Spanish galleon of 350,000 pieces of eight, and then, on the way home, intercepted another Spanish ship and took from it 60,000 pieces of eight in addition.

Thereafter, down to the close of the century, piracy declined in the West Indies and the contiguous waters. Vessels traversing the Gulf or the Caribbean under any flag but that of Spain were more likely to suffer from the depredations of the Spanish coast guards than they were from out-and-out buccaneers. A case in point was that of the "Comte de Maurepas" which was attacked by pirates off Cape San Antonio. This was the first instance of

the kind in which New Orleans was concerned. The "Comte de Maurepas" was on her way from Bordeaux to New Orleans when she was waylaid by the sea rovers, such as they were. In the merry days of Mansvelt and Dominguez and their congeners, the ship would have been looted, scuttled, and the crew incontenently put to the sword. But pirates had lost their quality, and she was let off with the loss only of such easily portable articles as could be found on board.

About the year 1800, however, there was a revival of the profession. Thence to its extinction in 1823, it flourished on a scale probably superior to anything known in other days. Two circumstances contributed to this end—first, the war which broke out between France on one side and England and Spain on the other; and, secondly, the crisis which developed in the slave trade as a result of a widespread movement to outlaw that infamous traffic.

The war gave the people of the French West Indies a pretext to prey upon enemy commerce. At that time, Spain boasted the richest and most numerous merchant fleet trading to the New World. Soon the seas swarmed with privateersmen who made the Spanish ships the objects of their special attention. The French colonials commissioned everybody who applied, and almost every nation in the world seems to have been represented among the rough men who flocked to Guadaloupe and Martinique to buy letters of marque. It is said that New England was well represented in their ranks, and surely New Orleans, which was still essentially a French town, did not neglect this opportunity to feed fat an ancient grudge, while at the same time lining its pocketbooks with plundered gold.

In 1806 the British captured Martinique and Guadaloupe. That deprived the privateers of their favorite retreats. Not long thereafter the Spanish colonies in the New World began to separate from the mother country. Colombia was the first to declare her independence. She invited to Cartagena the adventurers of all nationalities who were willing to aid her in the struggle with Spain. Thither flocked the privateers and pirates of the western seas. Furnished with letters of marque by the new government, they felt they had now a legal standing and, with a good conscience, set to work to harry Spanish shipping and that of such

colonies as might still remain loyal to Spain. The line between privateering and piracy is, at best, a slender one. We may be sure that, at times, the vessels of other countries were mistaken for those of Spain. That was unfortunate. But it was profitable.

England, especially, suffered from these errors. The American privateers seem to have found it extremely difficult to distinguish the Union Jack from the red and gold of the Spanish ensign. They were full of resentment for the way in which His Majesty's navy treated American seamen. British officers never hesitated to "press" or "shanghai" Americans whenever they needed men on their vessels. Perhaps this fact had something to do with the aberrations of vision so oddly prevalent among the privateers in the years just preceding the War of 1812. Back in the United States, too, people felt annoyed at the conduct of the British officers and looked with complacency on every act which worked to the detriment of British commerce, even when, as a matter of fact, it transgressed the letter of the law.

Fortunes were quickly made in this questionable business. Back home, business men, who had no stomach for the perils of the sea, put money into equipping ships to go adventuring under the transparent disguise of the Colombian letters of marque. Some of the leading merchants of New Orleans did this. Legally, they were not responsible for the excesses committed by the privateers. Consequently, no one inquired very strictly into the way in which the handsome profits were accumulated which they regularly turned in. However, the United States government had treaty commitments which did not permit it to sit by indifferent to the situation, especially when privateering began to run into and extend the slave trade and thus came into collision with our customs and neutrality laws.

In the early years of the nineteenth century some of the most important nations in Europe outlawed the slave trade. The United States took similar action in 1808. Spain, however, held off till 1820, and until then her ships continued to bring "black ivory" over from Africa to the colonies in America. The privateers found it increasingly profitable to operate on these vessels. The United States law forbade the importation of new slaves, and along the American coasts there was a vigilant coast guard which did what it could to prevent violations of the regulations.

The demand, nevertheless, was very great, especially along the lower reaches of the Mississippi River, where vast plantations of sugar and cotton were springing up. Louisiana had only recently been annexed to the Union. Settlers were hurrying in from the North and East. The fertile soil cried out for cultivation. No one could do the work like the Negroes. Black men soon brought from \$800 to \$1000 each in New Orleans, with planters frantically bidding against one another for them. Probably never before or since has there been so urgent a demand for labor.

It is not surprising that a contraband trade in Negroes sprang up around the Gulf of Mexico. Cuba was one of the principal sources of supply. A Negro man could be bought in Havana for \$300 and sold in New Orleans for three or four times that sum; the profit was too large not to tempt the reckless men whose swift-sailing vessels haunted the Gulf. There was also another and still more profitable source of supply—the Spanish slave ships from Africa. They could be intercepted on the high seas, stripped of their human freight, and then allowed to proceed on their way—or perhaps they were not allowed to proceed but disappeared then and there, in the best tradition of the grand old days of the great masters of piracy. Either way, once the slaver managed to get safely into the labyrinth of bayous opening out from the Gulf along the Louisiana coast, there was small chance of the emissaries of the law overtaking him.

At first, no doubt, this business was carried on as a strictly individual enterprise, but, as the profits grew, the need for some central point where contraband—wines, silks, jewels, and other goods of high estate, as well as the slaves—might be handled in safety began to be felt. Cartagena was open, but the traffic there was limited. What was needed was a place where the privateer might find refuge when pursued by an enemy, yet which would be close to the chief markets for his wares. Such a harbor was found at Barataria.

Barataria Pay was designed by Nature to be the theater of just the kind of incident that now happened there. It is a large body of water from seven to eight feet deep, protected from the sea by Grande Terre Island, screened on all sides from observation by lush vegetation, with easy access to supplies of fish, game, and fresh water. It lies some fifty miles southwest of New Orleans

and communicates with the city through a series of brackish lakes and bayous, a canal, and a good dirt road.

Here, about the year 1809, the hardest set of lawbreakers known to American history assembled, and here they remained until driven out in 1814 by an expedition under Patterson and Ross. A regular organization sprang up. An Italian named Gambi, or Gambio, was chosen leader. Gambi was a bloodthirsty individual who scorned the euphemistic title of "privateer" and preferred the more accurate one of "pirate". Agents were appointed in New Orleans to enlist men and dispose of the goods, human and otherwise, which the marauders speedily began to deliver to Barataria in ever-increasing quantities.

And that brings us back to Jean Laffite.

There were three Laffites—Pierre, the eldest, then Jean, and Antoine, the youngest, of whom we know nothing except his name. They were natives of New Orleans, children of quite ordinary, respectable, middle-class parents. Of Pierre, a description was printed in one of the local newspapers in 1814, when he broke jail and the sheriff was anxious to recapture him. From this it appears that he had a cast in one eye, and that "his person was so well known in New Orleans that no further description was necessary" to facilitate his identification. Pierre became his brother's chief lieutenant and representative in the city; otherwise, he is not of moment in the story of the Louisiana pirates.

Jean was born in 1781. Of him we have the following not altogether authentic description: "A handsome man about six feet two inches in height, and strongly built, . . . with large hazel eyes, black hair, and [he] usually wore a mustache. His favorite dress was a species of green uniform with an otter-skin cap which he wore a little over his right eye . . . a good swordsman and an unerring shot . . . of a retiring disposition, and seldom smiling." He spoke English and Spanish as well as his native French. He must have been a man of singularly winning address. No one who knew him well failed to come under the spell of his charming personality. John R. Grymes, who was the greatest lawyer in New Orleans in those days, entertained an admiration and affection for Jean Laffite which was only in part engendered by handsome fees; for he, too, was of a raffish disposition and could appreciate elegance even in a pirate. "What a misnomer,"

he used to say, "to call the most polished gentleman in the world a pirate!" Even Andrew Jackson, who, prior to meeting Laffite, denounced him and his men as "hellish banditti", had only words of commendation for his bravery and patriotism, once he came to know the accomplished scoundrel in person.

In 1810 Jean Laffite operated a blacksmith shop on St. Philip Street, near the corner of Bourbon, in the very heart of New Orleans. He was assisted by his brothers—the elder, Pierre, and we may suppose also by the younger, Antoine. There, in the smithy, in the sultry midsummer afternoons, the three men might be seen toiling over the anvil. They were setting link to link to make long, light, strong chains, with curious rings, six or eight inches in diameter, fixed at regular intervals along their entire length. Watching them were groups of swarthy men of evil aspect, cutlasses on hip and pistols in belt, who advised and criticized as the work went on. They were Baratarians. They were buying from Laffite the manacles with which to shackle Negro slaves when those poor wretches were brought up from the coast to the warehouses and stockades in New Orleans where they were regularly sold. As the work progressed, we can imagine the conversation that accompanied it: tall tales of wild adventure on the high seas, rich spoils wrung from reluctant Spanish or English shipmasters, magnificent carousals on the beaches at Grande Terre—until at last Jean Laffite could stand it no longer and went off to see for himself whether these stories were true or not.

The Laffites were already implicated in the business of the Baratarians. If report may be trusted, they were among the first "fences" chosen by Gambi and his myrmidons. But Jean had a soul above such petty matters; he aspired to control the entire business, and control it he did. Hardly had he arrived at Grande Terre than he was invited to take charge. We must disbelieve the legend that he had to shoot his way to that bad eminence. Laffite was a business man; the marauders had need of his services, and he knew how to turn that need to his advantage, so that—much as an unscrupulous banker can nowadays insinuate himself into a business and eventually emerge as its master—the ex-blacksmith, speedily and inevitably and by general consent displaced such crude operatives as Gambi and his adherents.

As soon as Laffite felt himself undisputed master of Barataria, he set out to broaden and consolidate the piratical business. This, in fact, constitutes his real claim to distinction. He was the man who introduced modern business principles into a field which hitherto had been dominated by rugged individualism of the most rugged sort. Doubtless Laffite's innovations hastened the extinction of piracy in the Gulf of Mexico, as well as of his own particular enterprise. It was not precisely an industry which lent itself to expansion and development on the scale that Laffite contemplated. The rapid growth of the piratical settlement; the wealth said to be in store at Barataria; its increasingly intimate relations with New Orleans; and especially the brazen way in which Laffite ignored the laws-these were offenses which the United States could not condone. Laffite, like many another business man, might have lasted longer had he operated on a less extensive scale. As it was, his doom was inevitable.

But as first all went well. Within less than eighteen months, Jean Laffite was at the head of a little army of between 800 and 1000 men. He had seventeen vessels—brigantines, schooners, and feluccas—all operating out of Barataria. He built a fort on Grande Terre. Around it there speedily sprang up a village where the men and women could be accommodated who visited the place to buy what the Baratarians had for sale or to sell them the things they wanted to buy. Business was brisk. On a certain day four hundred Negroes were sold. That was, no doubt, an exceptional day. The fact, however, which is attested by an official document, is highly suggestive.

Eventually Laffite operated what might be called a system of piratical chain stores. In New Orleans, he had a square of ground in the lower part of Chartres Street, surrounded by a lofty picket fence, with a resident agent, where his wares were regularly for sale. It is said that Daniel Clark, United States consul in New Orleans during the Spanish regime and later on a member of Congress, was also his agent. Clark had a warehouse connected with his dwelling on the outskirts of the city near Bayou St. John. There was also the "Haunted House", on the bank of the Mississippi, near the foot of what is now Louisiana Avenue, which stood gaunt and deserted by day, but where mysterious lights and sounds at night terrified the superstitious

neighbors. This was the place to which Laffite delivered goods brought up from Barataria through the bayous and what afterwards was called Harvey's Canal. Finally, he had a "platform" at the junction of Bayou Sauvage and the Rigolets, some miles back in the swamps behind the city, where booty was regularly unloaded and kept for the inspection of purchasers.

It is likely, too, that Laffite either controlled or co-operated with the Mexican, Aury, who ran a piratical establishment at Galveston Island (Campeache, it was then called), something like Laffite's at Barataria. Aury claimed to operate with the permission of Herrera, the minister of the Mexican patriots in revolt against Spain. His vessels had letters of marque from Venezuela, La Plata, and New Granada. We hear of his landing coffles of slaves on the Louisiana coast, at Bayou Lafourche, and marching them overland to Alexandria to be sold; something which it is not likely he could have done without the consent of Laffite.

At this time Laffite knew nothing about the sea. The story of his piratical career in the Indian Ocean may be dismissed as a picturesque fiction, like his birth at St. Malo and the long line of salty ancestors that imaginative biographers have located for him. In fact, Castellanos, who ought to know, says that Laffite at this period in his history was a smuggler, and it was not till later, after he transferred his capital from Barataria to Galveston, that he embarked upon the profession of piracy pure and simple. At the beginning Jean, with the instinct of a true business man, left the risks to others, contenting himself with buying and selling the goods that were brought to Barataria by men who were not so cautious about the detail of the business. Slaves were the chief commodity in which Laffite interested himself, but everything was grist that came to his mill. By 1811 he was handling "merchandise", a fact that indicates that his gunmen were already giving attention to vessels other than slavers. Rumor was that he soon began to raid the plantations along the Gulf coast in search of slaves and anything else that might prove salable. Nolte, a merchant in New Orleans at that day, said that "the whole adjacent coast was disquieted and kept in terror by pirates . . . who were time and again seen walking about openly in the streets" of the city. "Countless proofs of Laffite's piracies,

even against American shipping, were in the hands of the American government"; a statement which may have been true, but, if so, they were never found in the record.

The word pirate was always extremely distasteful to Jean Laffite. It carried with it too much of the suggestion of the hangman's noose as a possible end to a picturesque career. He himself always insisted that he was a smuggler and nothing else. He claimed that he was compelled to bring his wares into the United States by illegal ways despite his own inclination. He himself was always ready and eager to pay the legitimate duties, but could not do so because the governmental officers at New Orleans declined to receive them on articles reputed to have been ravished from friendly nations. By the treaty between the United States and Spain, every ship fitted out in this country to act as a privateer against Spanish commerce, no matter what papers she possessed from other governments duly recognized by Washington, was a pirate. In that sense Laffite was a pirate. But that is not the sense in which the term is understood today. Piracy consists in the indiscriminate plunder of vessels of all and sundry nations on the high seas by a robber who professes no allegiance to any flag. Whether Laffite, through his agents, was guilty of that sort of thing, with its usual concomitants of murder and barratry, we do not know with certainty.

It is interesting and probably significant that no charge was ever preferred in a court of law against Jean Laffite, or against his brother Pierre, involving the crime of piracy as above defined. At best they were accused of what was a misdemeanor—the violation of the neutrality and revenue laws of the United States. In April, 1813, when legal proceedings were initiated against the pair in the United States District Court, the indictment was for violating those laws. Nothing was said about piracy. This case did not come to trial. The warrants for the arrest of the brothers were returned marked "Not found".

Nor were the authorities prepared to go further when, a few months later, fresh indictments were preferred against various others of the Baratarians, including Pierre Laffite. One of these men, named Johnness, had looted a Spanish ship of \$9000 within three leagues of the Louisiana coast. Another, called Johannot, had captured a Spanish vessel off Trinidad with a cargo estimated to be worth \$30,000. They were accused of conspiracy. Pierre Laffite was indicted for aiding and abetting these men. He had "knowingly, and willingly assisted, procured, counselled and advised said practices and robberies." That was all. Obviously, had there been suspicion of piracy, the grand jury which framed these indictments would have at least dropped a hint thereof. The fact that the offenses actually charged were comparatively unimportant seems, ipso facto, to justify Jean Laffite's indignant refusal to accept the classification which his neighbors invented for him.

Nevertheless, the world long ago made up its mind about Jean Laffite. We know he was a pirate, though it would be hard to prove that fact in a court of law. However, it is unlikely that Spanish shipmasters always and everywhere submitted without resistance to the plunder of their vessels. Even if we indulge the immemorial Anglo-Saxon prejudice against the Spaniard to the degree of assuming that they were all poltroons, what shall we say about the English and American vessels which, according to Nolte, were also attacked by Laffite's representatives? Surely they did not tamely acquiesce in the looting of their cargoes. If they did not, what ensued? One shudders to thing of that. The fact that, while Laffite's rapscallions brought many prizes into Barataria, he is said never to have had a prisoner there is suggestive, to say the least. Moreover, in 1814, when the settlement was broken up by Patterson and Ross, there was found in the loot some articles of jewelry which were identified as belonging to a Creole lady who, some years before, had embarked at New Orleans on a ship bound for Europe, and neither she nor the ship were ever seen again. It is possible, of course, that the jewels came into Laffite's possession innocently. It is possiblebut not probable.

Whatever it was, smuggling or piracy, Laffite's enterprise proved immensely lucrative to many persons in New Orleans, but not to all. Those who advantaged by it used their influence to protect him. But the honest merchants, who procured their goods through the usual channels, were at a hopeless disadvantage in competing with Laffite. Their protests finally stirred to action the then governor, Claiborne. He appealed to the state Legislature for authority to raise a company of militia with which "to rescue

Louisiana from the foul reproach of harboring such banditti". The Legislature had other ideas. Its position was that Laffite was helping—by illicit means, it is true—to build up the Mississippi Valley and add to the fortunes of its constituents. Moreover, the slave trade (the legislators seem tactfully to have ignored other aspects of Laffite's business) was outlawed, and, technically the hijacking of slave ships was not a crime, whatever it might be to bring their cargoes subsequently into the United States. If the Spanish government could not defend its nationals, Louisiana was under no obligations to do it for her. As for the United States, it made the revenue and neutrality laws, and it could enforce them for itself. It was a comprehensible if not high-minded attitude. All that Claiborne could do was to offer a reward of \$500 for the arrest of Laffite; whereupon Laffite, with the grim humor which seems to have been characteristic of the man, placarded New Orleans with offers of thirty times that sum for the head of Claiborne.

But the United States government was not to be so flouted. It dispatched a number of expeditions against the Baratarians. It is true that the first one, in October, 1814, under a customs inspector named Gilbert, was an ignominous failure. Gilbert and his posse captured a quantity of merchandise from a gang of smugglers, apparently men in Laffite's organization. Before the goods could be brought in to New Orleans, Gilbert was overtaken by Laffite, and in the skirmish which followed, one man was "greviously wounded" and the spoils recovered. In another similar encounter at a later date Laffite slew an inspector named Stout and dangerously wounded two others. These were the first clashes known to have occurred between the Baratarians and the representatives of the United States government. That Washington did not urge its attack was probably due to the preoccupation of the government with the war which broke out in 1812 with England over the impressment of American sailors.

In 1813, however, another expedition was fitted out under Captain Andrew Holmes, which captured Jean and Pierre Laffite and a number of other Baratarians, resulting in the indictment described elsewhere. But nothing really decisive was done till 1814, when Patterson and Ross' expedition broke up the settlement at Barataria, as we have mentioned. Most, if not all of these

enterprises, were motivated less by the desire to uphold the majesty of the law than by the hope of looting Barataria of the riches supposed to have been accumulated there. Patterson and Ross secured a number of vessels and some property; not much—for Laffite seems to have been forewarned and removed most of his ill-got wares to places where they were never located, so that the rumor of buried treasure persists even to this day along the Louisiana and Texas coasts.

It was in connection with the War of 1812, moreover, that Jean Laffite had his great opportunity. His magnanimous conduct with regard to the British invasion of Louisiana has to a great degree offset his criminal activities. The world remembers with a certain respect the patriotic impulse which prompted his rejection of British bribes, and his valiant service in the American army in the campaign of 1814. The facts are too generally known to need more than to be briefly recapitulated here.

In September, 1814, a British man-o'-war appeared off Barataria. In an interview which promptly took place between Laffite and her commander, Captain Lockyer, the latter invited the Baratarian chieftain to ally himself with the British forces. Lockyer offered him a commission in the Royal navy and the sum of £30,000 in cash. It was a magnificent bribe, and, considering that Laffite knew perfectly well that Patterson and Ross' expedition was about to descend upon him, it would not have been at all wonderful if he had accepted it. But he did not. On the contrary he induced Lockyer to wait two weeks for a decision, and in the interval wrote to Governor Claiborne all the facts he had been able to glean regarding the projected attack on New Orleans and offered to move his men up to the city to help defend it. Claiborne refused, and on September 16, Patterson and Ross reached Barataria.

The Baratarians made no resistance. Although in Patterson's official report he says that they numbered between 800 and 1000 men, they abandoned the place. Patterson sailed away with eight vessels which he found, without a flag, anchored in Barataria Bay, and two others which flew the flag of the republic of New Granada. The smuggling-privateering-pirating metropolis was at an end. Laffite, who fled to a hide-out on the German Coast above New Orleans, where he seems also to have had

friends, still held firmly to his determination to fight for his country alone; and when Lockyer again put in an appearance no answer was sent out in response to his signals, and he sailed away discomfited.

When General Jackson reached New Orleans, Laffite tendered his services to him. The offer was accepted. How the buccaneers manned the artillery in the battle of January 8, 1815, and how they mowed down pitilessly the red-coated veterans, who had proved invincible on scores of European battlefields, is a tale familiar to every schoolboy. After the battle Jackson obtained from Washington a pardon for the Baratarians. They were freed from the indictments that had been lodged against them in the New Orleans courts. They were at liberty to settle down and lead the lives of law-abiding citizens in the community which had so long echoed with the grim tales of their piratical exploits. Some of them did so. But Jean Laffite was not one of these. What he did thereafter is, however, outside of the limits which we have set to the present story, and we can dispose of his subsequent career in a few words. As a matter of fact, nothing is known of him immediately after the War of 1812. In 1817 he was in Charleston fitting out a buccaneer schooner of the type described in a previous paragraph. From that port he returned to the Gulf, and, on April 5, 1817, he was at Snake Island, or Campeache, where Galveston now stands. Aury had abandoned the place. Laffite built a town on the site of his predecessor's ruined huts. A fort was thrown up; a small dockyard and arsenal were erected; a typical Yankee boardinghouse was opened. Soon the population numbered 1000 souls. The news that the old "bosse" had opened a new nautical "fence" spread rapidly, and all the sea rovers who had prizes to dispose of set sail for Snake Island. They could not sell the ships there, but they could get cash for the cargoes either from Laffite himself or from the traders whom he brought there. Laffite dwelt in a red-painted mansion within the fort. He had also a beautiful brig which had once been a slaver, the "Pride", and went cruising in her occasionally; and that, apparently, is where he began definitely to function as an out-and-out pirate.

Laffite has been charged with acting as a spy for the Spanish viceroy of Mexico against the rebel government which had been set up in what we know as Texas. This is slander pure and simple.

As a matter of fact, Laffite tried to co-operate with the patriots, but they were campaigning far in the interior, and his letters seem to have gone astray. He went through the form of adopting a constitution and elected state officers. His governor appointed a justice, and an admiralty court was set up to issue commissions to buccaneer captains and to condemn prizes taken from the Spanish. In fact, he succeeded in creating a very general impression throughout the United States that he had at Snake Island a lawfully organized government though, strictly speaking, it was no such thing. Finally, the United States government sent a commission to Galveston to ascertain the facts, and it reported that Laffite was really operating the same sort of establishment that he had previously had at Barataria. Accordingly, in 1821, an American warship was sent thither and the place was broken up.

Laffite packed his valuables, put them on the "Pride", and sailed away. He sailed away into the mists and legends from which he never emerged. Some say that he died a year or two later in battle with a British warship; others, that he turned merchant and came to his end peacefully in Yucatan; others, that he went to France and lived there to a peaceful old age. Whatever his fate, the fact emerges that New Orleans produced the most remarkable smuggler—privateer—pirate—and what you will, known to American history.

II.

Laffite did not entirely lose touch with New Orleans after his removal from Barataria to Galveston. It is of record that he visited the city on several occasions between 1817 and 1821 "on business". One naturally questions "What business?" In all probability it had to do with slaves and the smuggling into Louisiana of slaves brought into Galveston, just as had previously been done with those delivered by the privateers and corsairs operating out of Barataria. The leopard does not change his spots. In Louisiana the demand for Negroes persisted, and Laffite was hardly the man not to cater to it. This impression is borne out by the fact that certain of his most trusted lieutenants took up their residence in New Orleans after the destruction of the settlement at Barataria, and one of them, at least, we know was engaged in the slave business.

The way in which this "business" developed in New Orleans after Laffite established himself on the Texas coast is obscure. Smugglers, privateersmen and, especially, pirates are not gentry to leave written records behind them to delight the eye of laterday historians. We have to piece out the few known facts with inference and imagination. No doubt Laffitte would have preferred to return to Barataria, but for one reason and another the United States government made that impossible. The authorities realized—a trifle late, it is true—that New Orleans was from that direction vulnerable to the attack of any enemy, and therefore kept a close watch upon the place. Eventually a fort was erected on Grande Terre Island. So the scattered buccaneers had to avoid their old home. Some of them settled at the adjacent village of Chenière Caminada; some established a residence at Grand Island; and some even found a refuge on Last Island, that desolate, ill-omened strip of wave-washed sand which was the scene of a terrible disaster, some thirty years later, when a great storm demolished a hotel there with a huge loss of life. Whosoever of Laffite's old cronies were still living there perished at that time.

All of these men pretended to be fishermen. Regularly they put out to sea and diligently they cast their nets, and when they were adequately rewarded, they took the spoil up to New Orleans and sold it in the French Market in front of Jackson Square. We may be sure they were immeasurably bored at this peaceful occupation. But it whiled away the time until something more entertaining presented itself. That did not come until Laffite set up in his accustomed business at Galveston. But no sooner was the old "bosse" established there, than arrangements seem to have been concluded to land batches of Negro slaves at the various islands named along the Louisiana coast, whence they were surreptitiously conveyed through the bayous to the slave camps and stockades in New Orleans. There are hints in the newspapers of that day that the city was only one—though the most important—of the places profiting by Laffite's new enterprise. Alexandria and Donaldsonville were also distributing points for the smuggled slaves. Laffite is known to have visited both of those places on occasion.

We do not know who first handled the "business" in New Orleans. Pierre Laffite, in earlier, happier years his brother's loved and trusted agent, was obviously the person for the re-

sponsible, if not very honorable, duty. But there is nothing in the record to show that Pierre resided in the city after 1816, though he must have visited it from time to time down to 1824. It seems likely that his presence was required elsewhere by the schemes which Jean Laffite was concerting. One is led to this conclusion by certain events which happened in 1816, particularly by a singular voyage made by the brothers to Haiti in that year. They sailed away from New Orleans with a fleet of eight vessels purchased, through Sauvinet, at the auction of the prizes taken in Patterson and Ross' expedition. They were bound for Port-au-Prince. We may be sure that this destination was not selected altogether at random. On board Jean Laffite's flagship was his bravest, most resourceful, and most intelligent subordinate, Dominique You, who was a native of Santo Domingo, a fact which is highly suggestive. But if the Laffites planned to locate in Portau-Prince they were doomed to disappointment. The Haitians had their own little piratical and smuggling industries, and they did not want anybody around to compete with them, especially one of Jean Laffite's proven abilities. So the authorities closed the port to the travelers. They were allowed to revictual, but that done, they had to depart.

The little fleet returned to Barataria Bay. For some months it lay there quietly at anchor. Jean and Pierre Laffite spent much time in New Orleans. In the latter part of 1815, the latter went also to Washington and Philadelphia in a futile effort to induce the United States government to restore the cash value of the effects seized by Patterson and Ross at Barataria. Evidently the brothers were striving by every means in their power to collect funds for the Galveston venture. Also, it took time to complete the arrangements which Jean had in mind for handling his wares. After that, the story becomes confused. We have difficulty in tracing the movements of the various members of the gang. However, early in 1817, the Laffites were at Galveston, and slaves and other goods were being sold there "as usual."

What seems likely is that from its inception the New Orleans end of the business was handled by Dominique You, with such supervision as Jean and Pierre could lend on occasional visits to the city. As we have seen, Dominique accompanied the brothers to Haiti and back to Barataria, but thereafter he made his home in New Orleans. That is another odd circumstance. It was very strange if this man, whose intrepidity and loyalty were generally

recognized, should have declined to accompany his chief to Galveston merely because he hankered for a tranquil life in the rather dubious innocence of New Orleans. Some stronger motive than that determined his choice. We must believe that Jean Laffite made him an offer to represent him in the city, too flattering to be rejected.

Furthermore, a man like Dominique was necessary in New Orleans if what we suppose were Laffite's plans were to be carried out. The illicit traffic in Negroes was not as well organized in those days as it was later on, but we may assume that it had already taken on something of the character it had in 1859, when, from the curious story of the slaver, "Rebecca", we glean amazing details of the completeness and complexity of the system both in New Orleans and throughout the West Indies. If so, then, in 1816 and 1817, there was need of capable men at a number of different stations—some to go on the slave ships to Africa; some in Cuba or other West Indian islands to superintend the debarkation of the human cargoes; and some in the American towns along the Gulf coast to keep in touch with prospective purchasers. A system of that sort—granting its existence—would have room in it for both the Laffites and for Dominique You.

Dominique's life was one of strange adventure. His boyhood was spent in his native island of Santo Domingo, but the sea early attracted him, and at an age, apparently, when most lads are still at school he was an able seaman and master of his own vessel. It is said that he was in France at the time of the Revolution. He had some sort of naval history in connection with the Consulate and Napoleon's wars. He accompanied Napoleon's brother-in-law, Leclerc, on his ill-fated expedition against the rebellious Negroes in Haiti in 1802. He had the luck to survive and probably drifted away to some other of the West Indian islands, young, penniless, and unscrupulous. Somewhere he fell in with the privateers. Theirs was a service which exactly matched his adventurous, daredevil temperament. Soon he was conspicuous in the fraternity which was making life miserable for Spanish skippers and Latin-American slave merchants.

When, where, and how he joined Jean Laffite's brigade of desperadoes is off the record. Suddenly he emerges as one of its most active and daring operatives. That is how he appears in the indictments lodged against him and his associates in 1813.

For some reason, he figures in those proceedings under the name of Johannot. He was not brought to trial. He escaped to the swamps and for some time was a fugitive. When the chase relaxed, as it eventually did, he returned to New Orleans and to Barataria. It is even said that he had the effrontery to visit Pierre Laffite while the latter was confined in the Calabozo in 1814. At any rate, his fame is inextricably bound up with that of the Laffite brothers.

Then came the British invasion of 1814-15. Dominique was one of the Baratarians who volunteered to assist in the defense of New Orleans. He was an expert artillerist. General Jackson put him in command of a battery on the right of the American line, a post which, as it proved, was vitally important to the success of the American cause. There, on the fateful 8th of January, You did excellent service.

At the height of the battle Jackson visited the battery. He asked how matters were going.

"Ah," said Dominique, in his imperfect English, "we do not make much damage. The powder! It is not good. The cannon balls, they fall short."

"I'll remedy that!" replied the General, grimly. Turning to one of his staff he gave directions that thereafter the ammunition of the Baratarians should be of the best. Apparently both Jackson and Dominique understood that defective powder was being sent up to the guns with full knowledge of its conditions. Why? The interrogation suggests a good many curious ideas, especially when we consider it in relation to Jean Laffite's fruitless mission to Barataria and his consequent absence from the battlefield at the very moment when his services might have proven most valuable. But whatever ill-feeling there may have existed toward the Baratarians elsewhere, Jackson observed and admired their valor. "Were I ordered to storm the very gates of hell," he said, afterwards, referring to the subject, "with Dominique You as my lieutenant, I would have no misgivings as to the outcome."

Dominique was among those to whom President Madison extended a pardon in consideration of their conduct during the campaign. The commonly accepted version of his subsequent career is, that he abandoned piracy—or privateering, if you prefer—and settled down, a staid and peaceful citizen of his adopted

country. This, as we have seen, is unlikely. Moreover, New Orleans was not precisely the kind of community in that epoch where a reformed pirate would be entirely safe from temptation. The city was a sort of combined American frontier town and West Indian port, full of lawless characters spoiling for adventure men who, in not a few instances, had come to town because the sheriffs elsewhere were looking for them, knowing that in the vivid, picturesque, bustling, immoral little Louisiana metropolis they would be lost to sight. It was among these hardened exiles that Reybaud and his like enlisted their crews; and when in 1823 Bossière concocted his abortive plot to rescue Napoleon from St. Helena, he picked out the toughest of them for a crew, guided in his selection by Dominique You, who was second in command of the "Seraphine." We may be sure that the "Seraphine's" departure was delayed overlong through no lack of diligence on Dominique's side.

After the destruction of Galveston and the evanishment of Jean Laffite, Dominique fell upon evil days. Doubtless he squandered his money recklessly when he had it. Now, when suddenly the business with which he was identified collapsed, he did not know how to make other connections. He dwelt in a little cottage at the corner of Love and Mandeville streets, in the lower part of New Orleans, a building which still stands or was standing at a comparatively recent date. His end was not without drama. Toasted and feted in the days when his fighting record was still bright in the memory of the community he had helped to save from a foreign foe, he had dropped more and more out of sight. He dabbled a bit in politics. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Andrew Jackson wherever and whenever the old chieftain was a candidate for office. But in the last year or two of his life, You was virtually a hermit. At times, it is said, his humble home was without food. The ex-pirate was too proud to seek aid from "fairweather" friends. Only on the eve of his death did the city learn of the necessitous state of the old man. Then it was too late to be of any real service.

He died on November 30, 1830. To the dead, New Orleans extended a homage extraordinary in the case of a retired buccaneer. The city council voted him a military funeral, in which the Louisiana Legion—that famous organization which included all the local volunteer troops—took a prominent part. All places of business were closed; flags were out at half-mast, and salvos

of cannon were fired by the Orleans Artillery, a corps of which Dominique was one of the founders. If Jean Laffite were still alive, when he heard of the pomp with which his quondam associate had been laid to rest, he must have smiled wryly.

They buried Dominique in a low, hip-roofed brick vault on the principal path in the St. Louis Cemetery No. 2. You can see it there today, in immaculate repair, with the grass neatly clipped around it, and the inscription on the marble slab in front kept clean and clear:

Intrepide guerrier sur la terre et sur l'onde, Il sut dans cent combats signaler sa valeur, Et ce nouveau Bayard sans reproche et sans peur Aurait pu sans trembler voir s'écrouler le monde.

Above these lines from the "Henriade" is carved a Masonic emblem. That, too, is not the least suggestive fact that one discovers when we study the biography of this singular man.

It is said that Dominique left no heir to perpetuate the somewhat lurid luster of his name. He died, as he had lived, a grim warrior, alone—so it is said—so far as loved ones were concerned. Every year, on All Saints Day, when New Orleans turns out, French-fashion, to adorn the graves of its dead with flowers, the other tombs in that historic old burying ground are heaped with fragrant blooms. But there is never a blossom to smile on the vault in which moulder the ashes of one of the most colorful of the city's innumerable picturesque denizens. Nevertheless, if you look closely, you will perceive, planted beneath the slab which recites the name and date of death of the old buccaneer, a tiny fern, which could only have been placed there by some loving hand—Whose?

However, we must remember that Dominique You's connection with the slave trade in New Orleans is purely inferential. There was another of Laffite's men who settled in New Orleans, whose activity therein is known. That was Jacinto Lobrano, who died on November 12, 1880, in the hundredth year of his age. Tradition has it that Jacinto, in his time, had looked on Napoleon at the head of his army, had sailed and fought with Laffite, had served gallantly at Chalmette, and had been honored with the gift of a sword from the hands of Old Hickory himself. He was born in Naples, but becoming involved in a plot against the tyran-

nical government there, he and his father were driven out of the place. They became sailors. Jacinto reached New Orleans in 1809 as a member of Laffite's gang. It is said he had considerable influence with the corsair chieftain and persuaded him to take the American side, rather than the British, when that momentous decision was under debate at Barataria in 1814. He settled definitely in New Orleans in 1817, married, and had a family. In his old age he grew quite garrulous and told strange tales of the Texan War of Independence, in which it seems he had a part also. Among his treasures was a lance captured from one of Santa Anna's escort. In 1860 the old fellow retired on a modest fortune earned from his traffic in salves. Somehow, he knew how to adapt himself to changing conditions better than Dominique did and when the original Laffite setup went to pieces, Jacinto made other connections and was for all the intervening years busy and successful.

In one of the newspapers printed the morning after Jacinto's death, there appeared a sympathetic account of the old adventurer. "Once, a few days before his death, a reporter called at his little cottage at No. 122 Fourth street", says the writer. "When informed that a visitor wished to see him, Jacinto came in from the garden where he had been working, with a long garden-knife in his hand. His form was still erect, his eye bright, his hair long and thick. At first he was averse to conversation, but being plied with questions, he began to speak of his boyhood. He told of being in some island invaded by the British. When he came to tell of war, his eyes gleamed, he brandished the knife, and exclaiming that he would go and get his sword, strode out of the room. Further conversation was then prohibited, for fear that the excitement might injure his health."

That sword was the one presented to him by Jackson. During the occupation of New Orleans by the Federals, in 1862, Jacinto heard that General Butler intended to expropriate the weapon, whereupon he sent the Federal commander word that, in any such event, he, Lobrano, would use it to cut off his, Butler's, head. Or so he said. He liked also to say that Jackson had conferred a commission on him—a commission which began modestly with the grade of captain but rose with years and failing memory to that of general. For years the old man was a familiar figure in

New Orleans, and little boys, who heard fragments of his story from their Negro mammies, used to pass his home with wide eyes and delicious shivers, fearing, but also hoping, that the ex-buccaneer would rush out upon them, sword in hand.

One other name identified with the rare old days of piracy in New Orleans emerges from the shadows of the past. In July, 1847, a man named Benjamin Dolliver was arrested by the police for some small infraction of the law. "He spoke of boardingpikes and cutlasses", said the Delta reporter who chronicled the incident, "of bags of silver in the hold, and diamonds, and boxes of gold dust. His face looked like a piece of mahogany carved into human semblance. His nose was sharp and crooked enough to have served as a boathook in an emergency, and his mouth, cheeks and throat were covered with a thick, dark beard The police knew him to be one of the crew once under the command of the celebrated Lafitte." We have but this passing glimpse of Dolliver, but what a satisfactory glimpse it is! The typical pirate was he! What a privilege it must have been to gaze upon that battered countenance, and to listen to that gifted tongue, when, loosened with a little too much grog, it unrolled the gorgeous panorama of its past! Not even John Silver could have more entirely and completely filled one's ideal of the ex-pirate.

Piracy continued to figure more or less in the life of New Orleans till 1840. Indeed, even after that date the citizens had reason to be apprehensive as to the presence of outlaw gentry along the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico. The last alarm of the sort occurred in 1842. This was—but let a contemporary chronicler tell the story in his own amusingly inflated, lumbering, typically mid-Victorian journalese—a story compounded of credulity, panic, and bloodshed, which, among other things, makes us understand how deep-rooted in the community was the fear of the buccaneers, and how immediate seemed to the men of that day the recrudescence of piracy in their very midst.

We quote from an article in an old number of the New Orleans Herald:

It was in the midst of that calm and indolence which were wont more than now-a-days to possess our community, and when there always exists a susceptibility, rather than a longing, indeed, for some event or intelligence of a startling and sensational character, that some one brought to the city an appalling and frightful story of the capture of the ship Charles in the gulf by pirates, and the murder of her crew and passengers, and the plunder and rifling of her cabin and cargo. After this foul deed, the bloodthirsty pirates had tried to scuttle and sink the vessel, but, being loaded with slaves, this proved impracticable. She was found floating in the gulf, evidently without direction or crew, and upon boarding her the awful reality was demonstrated by unmistakable signs. There were distinct marks of the fray. The decks were stained with the blood of the unfortunate crew. Trunks were found broken open and emptied; old clothes were scattered around; bottles, which had evidently recently contained spirits, wine and beer, strewed the deck. Nothing of any value was left on the vessel; even her charts, chronometer, and all her portable furniture had been removed.

Here was a plain case of most daring piratical depredation. Full accounts were quickly transmitted to the city, which, no doubt, received large additions and exaggerations on their way. The intelligence was soon diffused through the whole city, and produced, of course, a violent ferment, a wild excitement. The City Council met to consider the matter, and popular meetings were held. It was determined to organize a force of volunteers, to charter a steamer, and proceed immediately in pursuit of the daring freebooters. That gallant and judicious military commander, General Persifer F. Smith, was placed in command of the expedition, which was quickly under way down the river. It was a fine body of citizen soldiers-of gentlemen of heroic mould, who tore themselves from the embraces of anxious wives and timid mothers, and with the blessings of their male relatives and friends, hastened to engage in the perilous cruise against the successors to the bloody buccaneers of the gulf, who had perpetrated this great outrage and insult upon our peaceful community, and thereby created so disastrous a panic in commercial circles.

The steamer reaching the gulf, proceeded to cruise through the sound, keeping a close watch of the islands and inlets, where it was suspected the pirates had taken refuge to conceal their spoils. Every vessel, every fishing smack, was overhauled and examined, and every person who could be found on the islands was closely inspected, cross-examined, and required to account for his presence, and treated generally as suspicious and a probable confederate of the bloody pirates. The Dagos who frequent these little sand islands for fishing were especially subjected to the most rigorous inquisition. Doubtless they had good grounds for apprehension that they had in some way or other become obnoxious to the legal authority, and seeing such an array of armed men, deemed it most prudent to submit to a thorough search, and

to employ any chances of evasion and misinformation to get rid of their visitors. They favored and encouraged the piratical rumors, and they designated certain places where the pirates might be found, and which they frequented. One particular island of the Chandeliers was marked out as a suspicious locality. There was an encampment on that island of unknown and suspicious persons. Let the expedition make for that island, surround and arrest the parties, and there was every prospect of the capture of the bloody villains who murdered the crew and plundered the ship Charles. The story was confirmed by other accounts.

Accordingly, General Smith directed his steamer towards the suspicious locality. As he neared it a telescope betrayed the presence of a tent and of persons on the island. It was then dark. But the impatient valor of our heroic volunteers would not brook delay. It was urged to make a nocturnal attack. Arrangements were accordingly made therefor. At about nine o'clock the several boats of the steamer were launched, all filled with gallant volunteers heavily armed. They made for the island silently and gloomily, General Smith in the bow of the foremost boat. Landing near the tent the men leaped on the beach and advanced in column of attack, General Smith in front. When within forty steps of the tent there was a cry, "QUI VA LA?"

The reply of General Smith was "Surrender, lay down your arms," at the same time rushing towards the front of the tent. He was answered by a rifle shot whistling near his head. But this did not arrest the General, who was some paces in advance of his men, when suddenly he stumbled over the tent ropes and fell prostrate. The person who had fired the gun then rushed to the fallen General and endeavored to finish him with a knife, inflicting several wounds on his person, not, however, of a very serious character. In the meantime, the General's force had reached the scene, and seeing their prostrate commander, discharged a volley of musketry at his assailant, and then rushed into the tent. Their enemy had fled, and was pursued to a lagoon, where he was captured by Captain George Washington Reeder, a famous little light comedian and excellent newspaper reporter of his day. The prisoner proved to be badly wounded, and, alas! instead of a pirate, a most respectable Creole gentleman of New Orleans, Mr. Lucie, who, with his brother and son, a little boy, had pitched their tent upon this desolate island to enjoy a little fishing and other marine pleasures. The brother and son were found in the tent asleep. Mr. Lucie had heard of the piratical rumors, and of course, assailed in the manner he had been at night by armed men, took General Smith and his party for the blood-thirsty, plundering ruffians, and determined to sell his life as dearly as possible. Hence his

manly resistance and the lamentable result. His wound was mortal, and he died that night, to the heart-rending grief of his little son and brother, and the bitter chagrin and sorrow of his unfortunate slayers.

This tragical result brought all parties to their senses. They began now to see that they had permitted a senseless panic to confuse their faculties and mislead their judgments. Further reflection created a doubt as to the whole story which had begot their expedition and led them on so desperate a wild chase. From credulity they rushed to the other extreme of thorough scepticism of the whole story about the ship Charles. Accordingly, General Smith directed the captain of the steamer to take the expedition back to New Orleans as rapidly as possible. The dead body of Mr. Lucie and his mourning relatives, and all his effects, were put aboard, and the steamer directed her course to the city. It was a melancholy trip; all the valorous enthusiasm of our gallant volunteers had evaporated; their hopes of being received by their friends and families in the city, as conquering heroes returning from the war, had given way to a profound despondency and disgust. Arriving safely in the city at night General Smith disbanded his command, and each man slunk home, with more of the feeling of defeat and dismay than that of pride and triumph.

A few days afterward, the roll of the expeditionary party disappeared, and it was always very difficult afterward to discover who were the members of it, though, when it started, they were all well known citizens.

This modesty was due to two events. The next day after the return of the expedition, a capias was issued by the Criminal Court of New Orleans for the arrest, on a charge of murder, of General P. S. Smith and George Washington Reeder, the two actors in the affair who could not disguise their connection with it. It required a very thorough investigation before these gentlemen could release themselves from the annoying predicament. The second fact, which stripped this expedition of all the glory and renown which it had expected to achieve, was the intelligence which came from the North of the safe arrival there of the crew and passengers of the steamer "Charles," the unwitting cause of the tragic events which we have been relating. The crew and passengers of the "Charles" finding the vessel in a sinking condition, as they imagined, concluded to abandon her, and hailing a passing vessel, bound for New York, took passage on her, taking good care to remove all their baggage and all the portable effects. The

mysterious bloodstains on the deck were caused by the butchering of some chickens or the emptying contents of bottles of claret.

In fact, it was shown that there had never been so senseless a panic as that created in New Orleans by the mysterious abandonment of the ship "Charles."

It proved a good lesson. Nothing has since been heard of any piratical exploits or deeds in the Gulf. That ancient disturbance of our slumbers has never since visited our couches.

The pirates of the Gulf have been succeeded by smaller, but quite as vexatious vermin of piratical tastes and habits. Sneak thieves and burglars now loot our houses of their valuables, as the freebooters of the Gulf once swept that sea of the rich argosies of our commerce. In the days when the United States was trying out the "noble experiment" of prohibition, there was a kind of pallid return to the fine old days of Laffite and You, but that exhausted itself in rumrunning and brushes with the coast guard; and since alcohol has recovered its lawful place in the public dietary, even that meager, insubstantial form of piracy has vanished away. Eheu fugaces, and also O tempora, o mores!

SOME INTERESTING GLIMPSES OF LOUISIANA A CENTURY AGO

(From the old files of the "Picayune")

Edited by WALTER PRICHARD

INTRODUCTION

The New Orleans *Picayune* was started on January 25, 1837, under the proprietorship of Francis Asbury Lumsden and George Wilkins Kendall. The paper was at first a daily only; but many sections of Louisiana and the adjoining states did not at that time have mail service more frequently than once, twice, or thrice weekly. Under these circumstances a daily paper did not have as great an appeal to rural residents as did a weekly; and it was doubtless to meet this situation that the *Weekly Picayune* began publication on February 26, 1838, designed apparently for rural circulation in the main.

The editors of the new sheet were ever on the alert for any type of material which would interest their readers and increase the list of subscribers. With this end in view they occasionally published historical and descriptive sketches on various sections of the state. The material for some of these articles evidently was collected by agents traveling through the state in search of new subscribers, while others were the result of personal observations by one of the editors or were prompted by the receipt of letters from friends of the *Picayune*.

Some of these articles still possess considerable value and interest to the readers of Louisiana history, and for this reason a few of the more interesting sketches are reproduced herewith.

THE BANKS OF THE SABINE¹

This remote section of country, even that part of it which lies in Louisiana, is scarcely spoken of amongst us; and yet there is none, within the same distance from us, more calculated in itself to excite interest.

¹ From Weekly Picayune, April 9, 1838 (Vol. I, No. 7).

The immense prairies in that part of the state support vast herds of cattle, and the men and habitations which the traveller meets with in his journey, recall to his mind all that he has read of pastoral life. Our distinguished countryman, Timothy Flint, thus speaks of the country:—"Most of the people subsist by raising cattle and horses. Some years since three men of this region numbered above 15,000 head of horned cattle, and 2,000 horses and mules. Some of the situations in these lonely, but delightful prairies, have been selected with such reference to beauty of prospect, that we question if any in Arcadia surpassed them. They raise sheep, the mutton of which is excellent, but the wool coarse. Many of the horses are of the Andalusian and Numidian breed; and the cattle sleek, slender, elegantly formed, and spirited in their movements. They are driven to New Orleans for a market. Many of the inhabitants are French, clad in leather, flowing with milk and honey, often opulent, but clinging to the simplicity of pastoral life from habit and inclination. The traveller looks round upon thousands of cattle and a rustic abundance of everything appertaining to a shepherd's life, and is welcomed with a genuine hospitality, accompanied with French urbanity.

"It has been observed, that in advancing towards these sequestered regions, the traveller from New Orleans observes a decrease of luxury and refinement, corresponding to his advance on his journey, evincing a similitude of inverted history. He travels through all the different stages of refinement, from the luxury of that showy and expensive city to the mansions of the opulent and rural planters of Attakapas, the petits paysans beyond, and the Arcadian habitations of the French planters near the Sabine."²

The Sabine rises in Texas, and enters this state in the parish of Natchitoches, in Lat. 32 N.—whence, after watering some of the most hilly parts of the state, it flows into the Gulf, forming the United States boundary line in the lower part of its course.

Until lately no steamboat has ruffled its waters. The dreariness in the neighborhood of its outlet into the Gulf, seems to have been a scare-crow to deter our traders from disturbing that deep repose which has hitherto reigned along its banks—where, in the

² Quotation from Timothy Flint, The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley, to which is Appended a Condensed Physical Geography of the Atlantic United States, and the Whole American Continent (3rd. ed., 2 vols., Cincinnati, 1833), I, 261.

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language of the author above mentioned, "the wild deer browses unmolested; and the sea-fowls scream unterrified by the report of the gun."³

The solitude, however, has been broken. The Velocipede has penetrated the gloom, and has reached those more fertile tracts which are to be found in the upper part of the stream. An uninterrupted navigation of nearly 400 miles can now be enjoyed; and we may soon expect to see a dense population along its banks, driving an extensive and lucrative trade with the neighboring districts both of Louisiana and Texas.

After penning the foregoing, we received a letter from an old friend, who established himself in the woods on the Sabine a year ago, with a stock of goods, and has been doing a good business. We give a part of his epistle, as follows:

PORT HAZARD, March 16, 1838.

To G. W. Kendall, Esq.

You will, no doubt, stare at the caption of this letter, my old boy, and wonder where "Port Hazard" is. You need not look for your map, or examine any chart now extant for information, as your exertions will be fruitless. We have just been surprised by the arrival of the first steamboat that ever attempted the Sabine. This is written in the clerk's office on a sheet of her register, as she is, unluckily, out of paper. Now I have but a moment to say, send me the "Picayune", and let me see what is going on in the universal world and in Old Kaintuck to boot.

In haste, yours,

C.D.P.

SHREVEPORT ON RED RIVER⁴

"There is probably no part of the United States, where the unoccupied lands have higher claims, from soil, climate, intermixture of prairies and timbered lands, position, and every inducement to population, than the country between the Red River raft and the Kiamesia."

Quotation from ibid., I, 254.

⁴ From Weekly Picayune, June 11, 1838 (Vol. I, No. 16).
⁸ Quotation from Flint, History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley, I, 256. Flint spells the last word in the quotation "Kimichie" instead of "Kiamesia", in his third edition.

Thus spoke Timothy Flint several years ago, when lamenting the obstructions at the great raft, as likely to prove a serious and permanent barrier to the occupation of the country above. It is not our purpose now to dwell upon the superior fertility of the Red River Valley, or its great extent, or its broad deep current, navigable for steamboats for 1000 miles above the raft. This raft which was the only impediment, being removed, the country is filling up with a rapidity which shows that the picture given of it in the above extract is not too highly coloured. Emigrants from all parts of the country, as they flock in there, give sufficient evidence that its claims are generally known. Our object is simply to notice the flourishing little town named after the gentleman whose skill and energy have been so effectual in clearing away the obstruction.

Shreveport is situated in Louisiana, 250 miles above Natchitoches, beyond the raft, and at the nearest point on Red River to Nacogdoches in Texas. This location renders it a great thoroughfare for travelers to and from that Republic. It is to be the seat of justice for the new parish of Caddo, and it is also in contemplation to establish a Land Office there. Light draught steamboats can reach the place all the year round, and those of the larger class can for nine months.

The land about Shreveport and for one hundred miles west towards the Sabine, is rich beyond comparison, suitable for cotton, corn, and indeed for every comfort or luxury capable of being produced in the same latitude. The author above quoted says of the Red River, that "of all the broad and fertile alluvions of the Mississippi streams, no one exceeds it." "It compares in many more points with the famous Nile, than the Mississippi, to which that river has so often been likened." Fifty thousand bales of cotton, it is computed by the best judges, will be shipped at Shreveport within five years from the present time.

The town is improving fast. Eight new frame buildings are going up, including a large and spacious hotel. The settlers are remarkable for industry, intelligence and enterprise—qualities, in which it is said they are not surpassed by any community in any part of the union.

Quotation from ibid., I, 257.

With all these advantages of location, soil, climate and population, Shreveport must soon become a very important place.

A RAMBLE THROUGH ATTAKAPAST

A few days since we alluded to some notes of the Attakapas and Opelousas country, furnished us by a young gentleman just returned from a summer tour in that part of the State; and, as there seemed yesterday to be no danger of our columns being crowded by the mails, we determined to give place to them.

The country traversed by our correspondent, lying in the Southwestern extreme of this State, has been beautifully described in some of the works of Timothy Flint. "Its aspect of extreme fertility," says that author, "its boundless plain of grass, its cheering views, its dim verdant outline, mingling with the blue of the sea, white houses seen in the distance, innumerable cattle and horses grazing in the plain, or reposing here and there under the shade of its wooded points, have an indescribable pleasantness to the traveller."

Attakapas County consists of the parishes of St. Mary, St. Martins and Lafayette. The name signifies "Man Eater", in the language of the Indians, said to be cannibals, who formerly inhabited the prairies of that name.—Opelousas County is one and the same thing as the parish of St. Landry. Scattered over these vast plains, which extend from the Atchafalaya to the Sabine, there is a population of at least twenty-five thousand,—subsisting by agriculture and by their flocks and herds.

Having made these introductory remarks, we shall now present to our readers the communication of our correspondent, which is as follows:

New Orleans, Oct. 8, 1838.

Friend—: I have just returned from a tour through the Attakapas and Opelousas country, and have taken a moment's leisure to give you some "items."

I left in the early part of August in company with some thirty others (by sea) for Franklin. Nothing of importance occurred on our passage, except that we had a hard blow. "All hands and

Quotation from Flint, op. cit., I, 259.

From Weekly Picayune, Oct. 22, 1838 (Vol. I, No. 85).

the cook" got sea sick—caught plenty of fish and crabs—had fine bathing, and arrived safe at Franklin in four days in the superb steamer Yazoo, Captain Latham, who, by his strict attention and gentlemanly conduct, rendered our passage both safe and agreeable.

On leaving the mountain waves of the gulf for the plains and prairies lying in the interior of the Attakapas, the first pleasant object that meets your eye is Belle Isle, situated on your left as you enter the Bay of Atchafalaya. This island is the residence of Dr. Walter Brashear, the representative for the Parish of St. Mary.

On ascending the Atchafalaya, the first place of any note (excepting the plantation of George Berwick, Esq.,) is

Pattersonville.—This village contains several stores, a Post Office, public school, &c.—and is named in honor of Captain Patterson, who is an enterprising merchant and citizen of the place. Excuse the flattery to yourselves if I also add that Capt. P. proves himself to be a man of intelligence by the interest he takes in the Picayune. Your paper circulates extensively in the neighborhood of Pattersonville (otherwise called the "Dutch Settlement;") and I understand that it is owing in a great measure to the exertions of Capt. P. in your behalf.

Franklin—This beautiful village is situated immediately on the river Teche, and about ten miles from its mouth, which empties into the Atchafalaya; is a port of entry—imports direct from the North, and her wharves, in the winter season, are lined with brigs, schooners and flatboats—contains 800 inhabitants—has a Church, Court House, Public School, Female Seminary, two Hotels, two Banks, two Printing Offices, Post Office, and extensive ice house, and good McAdamized streets. Besides being a considerable place of business, it is a very desirable site for summer residences, as the lake Chitemaches, a sheet of water, ten miles in width, with beautiful shell banks, is within one hour's ride, and the Cotte Blanche Bay within two miles of town. These waters abound with oysters, as well as game of all kinds. The climate is delightful, as the sea breeze is continually blowing in during the summer months.

⁹ That's all a "true tale told to a T." Captain Patterson, even before we had the honor of being personally acquainted with him, had done much in introducing our paper to the acquaintance of the citizens of Attakapas. We are deeply his debtor in that respect.—Editors Picayune. (This footnote is appended to the article.— W. P.)

—The village is rapidly improving—the streets are well laid off, and it has more the appearance of a little city than a country village.

Centreville is situated six miles below Franklin,—has a Post Office, stores, &c., and is the port or landing place of all the merchandise for the Bayou Salle.

Oak Lawn.—This, the residence of the Hon. Alexander Porter, late U.S. Senator, is located three miles above Franklin in the Scotch Bend. The Judge has abandoned his old log house, and has erected a splendid edifice, which, for beauty and elegance, is not surpassed by any in this city. The site it occupies is truly beautiful, it is surrounded by large live oak trees, which, from the river renders the scenery quite romantic, to which he has appropriately given the name of Oak Lawn.

New Town or Nova Iberia, and St. Martinsville are situated on the Teche, in the Parish of St. Martins—the former thirty miles from Franklin, and the latter nine miles from New Town, by land. New Town is a very pretty place—the houses are well and regularly built—contains several stores, Post Office, Bank, Hotels, large Distillery, Church, Public School, &c. Schooners often ascend as high as this place. St. Martinsville is built on both sides of the river, which is very narrow at this place, and has a draw bridge—contains numerous stores, a Court House, two Banks, good Hotels, a French Theatre, &c., has good streets well laid out, one male and female seminary, &c—steamers in high water can ascend as high as Breau's Bridge, fifteen miles above St. Martin's. This is as high as any steamboat was ever known to ascend the Teche.

Lafayette is a place of some importance, situated in the Parish of Lafayette, in a large prairie, fifteen miles from St. Martinsville and the same distance from New Town—contains eight stores, Court House, Bank, two good Hotels, Public Schools and Post Office. Within a mile of this town, is the residence of the Hon. Alex. Mouton, U.S. Senator. On the road from St. Martinsville to Lafayette large plantations of cotton and cane present themselves to the traveller's view. The lands are principally prairie and very rolling.

The river Teche, which takes its name from one of Lafitte's desperadoes, rises in the county of Opelousas and empties into the

Atchafalaya, and is navigable ninety miles from its mouth. The scenery on its banks is truly beautiful, as they are lined with live oak and cyprus, and fields of sugar cane for miles stretch themselves along its banks.

The Atchafalaya, (or long river, as the Indians term it) rises in the Arkansas country.10 For a number of years the lower part has had a large raft in it which has forced a part of its waters into the Mississippi. This has given the Red River country a free navigation to this city; but during the present low stage of water a bar has formed at its mouth on the Mississippi, which has thrown its waters back into their natural channel, and which has been able to receive them, as two thirds of the raft has been cleared away the past summer, which heretofore stopped them from flowing undisturbed; and now, as the snag boat has resumed her labors on the raft, the settlers daily expect to have a free and undisturbed navigation from the Gulf of Mexico, to its upper end, which is a considerable distance. Since the removal of the raft, there is to be seen six to eight feet water in places heretofore nearly dry. Land that once could be bought for \$2 to \$3 per acre, cannot be got now for less than \$20—large purchases are daily being made by capitalists. Most of the inhabitants are very enterprising men, and will spare no expense to make this river, as it were, a rival of the Mississippi, which will no doubt be at some future period, as it possesses more natural advantages than the former.

E.L.N.

(For want of room, we are obliged to omit the conclusion of the letter, in which there is a graphic description of the scenery. On this point, we refer the reader to the works of the author above-mentioned, especially to his "Ten Years' Recollections" Letters XXIV, XXV—and to his "Geography of the Mississippi Valley," under the head of "Louisiana".—Eds.)

¹⁰ The writer is remarkably correct generally, but here we think he is in error. If the Atchafalaya has its source in the Arkansas country, it must either cross Red River, or flow over the hills of the Caddoes. Neither of these being very likely, the Atchafalaya doubtless commences its course in our own State; and is little more than a sluice to let off the superabundant waters of the Mississippi and Red Rivers.—Editors Picayune. (Footnote to the article.—W. P.)

A PAGE OF LOUISIANA HISTORY11

Having intimated a few days since that we had a notion of giving some account of the "Islenos", several of our patrons especially the Spaniards, have expressed a desire to see it fulfilled. We have been deferring it from day to day, in hopes of obtaining some leisure; but as this is impossible, we have determined to wait no longer. So we now take up our pen; and, in the hurry and flurry of business, amid the noise of drays and the bustle of reviving trade, bowing at one moment to our smiling patrons, and at the next yawning at the yarns of a loafer, we shall attempt, cur. cal., (with running pen,) to snatch from oblivion a few facts respecting a little colony of long standing, before all their distinguishing marks are lost in the overwhelming tide of improvement, innovation and all kinds of Americanism.

THE ISLENOS.

Opposite the upper extremity of the "Vegetable Market", is an open space of ground in the form of an isosceles triangle, the base resting on St. Philip Street, and the two sides formed by Old Levee Street and the "Public Road". On this area may be seen every morning a number of market carts, filled principally with sweet potatoes of a very superior kind, and garlic.—There are other vegetables also of different descriptions; but, to use a common expression, they are "thrown into the shade" by the potato and onion tribe. Many of these carts have oxen attached to them, and noble animals they are. The greatest peculiarity, however, about this triangle is the appearance of the people engaged in selling the contents of the carts. We have repeatedly observed them in our morning perambulations from 5 to 7 o'clock, and there is always a new "sett". The same commodities are always to be seen -but there are different carts, different oxen, and different venders. The appearance of this little encampment varies in many other respects. Sometimes we have counted as many as forty

[&]quot;From Weekly Picayune, Oct. 22, 1838 (Vol. I, No. 35). The issue of the preceding week (Oct. 15, 1838) contained the following brief note:

"The "Islenos" are a very singular people. We have been living in New Orleans a "considerable spell", and had heard much of them; but we had no idea of their peculiar customs till we paid them a visit. We spent the most of Sunday last among them, and were not a little surprised to see such a community at the short distance of twenty or twenty-five miles from this emporium. We were accompanied by friends who enlightened us much concerning the history of these people; and, as the subject may be interesting to our readers, we shall probably give some account of them when we have more leisure than at present.

carts—at other times, there is not a dozen. Sometimes the most of the venders are negroes, interspersed with a few white men—at other times, the great majority are white, and in almost every cart may be seen a female with perhaps a child or two, asleep or lolling on the hay.

These people all talk Spanish. They belong to a settlement respecting which we have indulged a considerable degree of curiosity; and, in gratifying that curiosity we have experienced no little pleasure. The old inhabitants of our city are of course acquainted with the peculiarities and the history of this people, and need no information from us. There are, however, thousands of our readers, both within and without the city, who know nothing of the community at "Terre au Boeuf"; and for them we shall note down a few items, which we hope will not be uninteresting.

About sixty years ago (1778) Louisiana, it will be remembered, was a Spanish province, and had been for nine years. During this period, its growth was cramped by the restrictions laid upon commerce. No trade was allowed except in vessels owned and commanded by Spanish subjects—and even that trade was confined to six particular ports, viz: "Seville, Alicant, Carthagena, Malaga, Barcelona and Corunna"—all in Spain. In the abovementioned year, however, (1778,) these restrictions were removed, and during the same year another measure was adopted by the mother country, which doubtless had a very favorable effect upon the progress of the colony, at the same time that it founded the settlement whose peculiarities have suggested this article.

The measure alluded to was this: The King of Spain (Charles III, if we remember aright) shipped to Louisiana, at his own expense, a large number of agriculturalists—a hardy race who, by their industry and frugal habits, he well knew would be a valuable acquisition when placed upon our fertile soil. One division of these emigrants fixed their home (literally their home in the most rigid sense of the term, even to this day,) at Terre au Boeuf. A house was erected for each family, and a church was placed in a central spot, where all might assemble to worship the "God of their fathers". For four years these settlers were occasionally furnished with cattle, fowls, farming utensils and rations, out of the King's stores, and also with some pecuniary assistance. This division was under the order of Marigny de Mandeville—another, under

the order of St. Maxent, settled on the Bayou Iberville near the confluence of the Amite river with that stream, and is known by the name of Galvezton. The third division founded a village called Valenzuela, on the Bayou Lafourche. They all came from some of the Canary Isles, (the Teneriffes,) and are hence called "Islenos", (Islanders,) by which appellation they are still known, sixty years after their immigration. The attribute of industry, with which we have invested them, may not be deserved, in the opinion of some persons. We only give our impression. It is said by some that they are descended from the ancient Gipsey race. This, however, we do not believe; for, from all we can learn, they are too good and useful a kind of population to trace their origin to an ancestry of such vagabonds.—This notion, however, which prevails to some extent, arises partly from the singular physiognomy of many of the Islenos. There is, especially among the females, an indescribable expression, a something bordering on the romantic or the wild, which we have never elsewhere observed, and which may have favored the abovementioned opinion.

The territory occupied by the Islenos is a strip or tongue of dry and comparatively high land which makes out nearly at right angles from the Mississippi on the East side, about twelve or fifteen miles below this city. It extends, we believe, to Lake Borgne, a length of about twenty miles; and, at the present day, is thickly strewed with houses nearly the entire distance, the most of which are occupied by the settlers, and a few by parish officers —and a few also by wealthy planters who are slowly encroaching, buying out the small proprietors, &c. &c. Upon an average, this "ridge" is about a mile in width, with the Bayou Terre au Boeuf running through the centre, along the margin of which is an excellent carriage road. The soil is exceedingly fertile, and is cut up into very small "estates".—The number of the population at present we do not know; but when Louisiana was ceded to the United States in 1803, the Islenos numbered about 800 souls. The means of support for this number are sufficiently visible. Many of them earn a good deal by assisting the planters of the surrounding country in gathering their crops, manufacturing their sugar and hauling it to the city. Others hunt and fish, and support themselves in that way by supplying the city market.

They all extensively cultivate sweet potatoes, onions, pump-kins, and other vegetables, as abovementioned. But, the greatest and most distinguishing occupation of these people is the training of oxen. Hence the name "Ox-Land", which is about the best translation we can give of the phrase "Terre au Boeuf". No other oxen, it is said, are so tractable as theirs, or command so high a price among the planters. They obey their driver, and in all respects deport themselves, with the docility of a spaniel.—Young cattle from the pastoral regions of the Attakapas and the Opelousas are placed in training at Terre au Boeuf, whence, after they are grown, they are taken back to work at the places from which they were originally brought. In one word, Terre au Boeuf is a nursery for oxen.

The good sense of these animals is particularly shown on their way to market. As above intimated, the same family do not often send their cart—perhaps once a fortnight. At all events, whenever it is necessary to procure a supply of groceries, flour and other needful articles, their cart is filled with such of their surplus products as they can best spare. Hay is thrown in for the team some of the "little 'uns" are perhaps stowed away, and Senora also goes along, perhaps to see the lions. They start at such a time of day as will insure their arrival at the market house about midnight.—Man, wife and child all go to sleep upon the hay—and the oxen move off perfectly aware of the responsibility resting upon them. By the time they reach the intersection of the road along the levee, there is generally a long retinue of carts, all covered with sheets or blankets—the hoops, or rather the "rafters", which support the covers being made of cane stalks. They move along at one steady gait towards their destination, while the owners are snoring within, having resigned all things to the "trusty steeds". Carriages and horsemen instinctively turn from the track and give precedence whenever they meet these carts.

About supper time they make the "stopping place", where they all tarry half an hour or so to take a snack. This is the stand formerly kept by Barba¹², with whose fate, and the recent execution of his murderers, our readers are well acquainted. The meal

¹² This, although a very small building, does an extensive business for a country place. It serves as a grocery, provision, clothing and liquor store for the neighborhood; and to the traveller it affords "entertainment for man and horse." Since the murder of Barba, who had kept it for a long period, it has been taken by two young men of the city, who give very good, plain, substantial fare, served up in neat style. (Footnote appended to the article.—W.P.).

is generally a very homely one—and, trifling as the cost is, it is invariably taken on credit, the bill remaining for settlement on their return from market. The cavalcade then takes up the line of march again, all is again entrusted to the oxen—and by midnight they are at the market, each yoke going up to its own stand.¹³ When the folks have disposed of their marketing in the morning, they go to their wholesale grocer, who is generally some wealthy Spaniard well acquainted with their ways. A plentiful breakfast is spread by him gratis for the whole troop; and in this way they always obtain their meals while in town.—It is an understanding that wherever they get their supplies, they are to eat—it is "a fair business transaction", and the merchant makes preparations accordingly, and doubtless charges for his commodities accordingly, likewise.

Our curiosity having been excited by observing these people at market, we have said thus much respecting their visits to town. At their homes we have also seen them—and there alone can they be fully understood. They are of a very social disposition—delighting in each other's society, and seizing with a hearty gripe the hand of the stranger that may happen to be introduced to their acquaintance. Their dwellings, it is true, are rude, and they are altogether a plain people; but they possess a natural politeness, and an easy, unaffected address, which won our most favorable regard at once. To an entire stranger they may appear differently; but as we were accompanied by a Spanish gentleman for whom they entertain a high regard, we were treated by them as though we had been an old acquaintance.

The order of society among the Islenos reminded us of our impressions of the patriarchal state. There are some aged men among them, whose word is almost as potent upon their minds as that of a monarch. They intermarry among themselves alone, and we are informed that no alliances are ever contracted beyond the limits of the parish. We saw on one piece of land some half dozen houses in quick succession, built alike. One of them, the most antiquated, we were told was the residence of an aged father of a family. As each of his sons was married, the successive houses

¹⁸ There is an ordinance, we believe, appropriating the triangular space of ground exclusively to the Terre au Boeuf market carts. Ought not the Second Municipality to make a similar provision for them at the *Poydras street Market?*—The vegetables, fish, game, etc. which might be secured in this way for the up-town folks, are worthy of attention; and, in farming out that market, this object should be kept in view. (Footnote appended to the article.—W.P.).

were built—and there they all live, in separate domicils it is true, but in one little coterie of their own.

Visiting, we should imagine, is one of their chief enjoyments. On a Sunday afternoon, there are numbers of pleasure parties seen gliding up or down the road in their cabriolets—which vehicle, by the way, is nothing more than a rough cart, with a bench placed in it.—This however, is enjoyed by the rustic damsels with as much zest as are our gorgeous phaetons by the city belles, if we may judge by their cheerful faces as they dashed along, whipping up their dobbins. Whether they ever put oxen in their cabriolets, we cannot say.

The church, which is eight or nine miles from the river, is a very neat little affair. The exterior is plain, but there are many ornaments and emblematic devices in the interior—among which are twenty-seven paintings and engravings. The building is in a handsome enclosure, planted with trees and grass, fronting on the road; and on the other (the Eastern) side, immediately opposite, is the public cemetery.—Between the church and the river is the Court House and other buildings belonging to the parish of St. Bernard—the branch of the "Gas Bank", at the residence of E. Marin, Esq.—also, the residence of Judge Rosseau.

From what we have said of the Islenos, it may readily be supposed that they are a happy people. We have no doubt of it. They are, it is true, not a very enlightened community—but they have perhaps as much real enjoyment as those who are their superiors in that respect.—The social virtues are warmly cherished. No one enjoys a pleasure unless his neighbor partakes with him. No man among them ever kills a beef without distributing the greater portion of it around gratis to the rest. This is reciprocated—and thus are the best feelings of the human heart cultivated by the singular customs of this community.

Such are the Islenos—and such are the primitive habits of a race that are to be seen within half a day's ride of this emporium. To the friends who accompanied us, and contributed so much to our pleasure while searching out the materials for this local sketch, we are under many obligations, and to them we return our heartfelt thanks.¹⁴

¹⁴ For a complete account of the murder of Barba, mentioned in footnote 12 above, and the trial and execution of those guilty of that barbarous crime, see *Weekly Picayune*, July 23, Sept. 17, 24, 1838 (Vol. I, Nos. 22, 30, 31).

THE LIFE OF RICHARD TAYLOR*

By JACKSON BEAUREGARD DAVIS

Chapter I

ANCESTRY AND LIFE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Richard Taylor's formative years were materially influenced by both his ancestry and his environment. His progenitors played an important and conspicuous role in the affairs of Colonial Virginia from the time when James Taylor came from Carlisle, England, and settled upon the Mattapony River near the Orange County Court House in 1635. As a large landholder, he took part in various colonial activities and became an important personage of his time. His son, also named James, was one of the first surveyors appointed in Virginia, and he ran the lines between Hanover, Spottsylvania and Orange counties. From his union with Martha Thompson descended two presidents, James Madison and Zachary Taylor.

Zachary, the son of the second James Taylor, held the important and lucrative position of surveyor-general, a place later filled in turn by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. He married Elizabeth Lee, and to them were born four children, Zachary, Hancock, Richard and Elizabeth. Richard attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the second Virginia regiment before the close of the Revolutionary War. He married Sarah Dabney Strother in August, 1779, and six years later settled on a large estate near the present site of Louisville, Kentucky. Becoming an important political figure in Kentucky, he represented Jefferson County in the conventions of 1786 and 1788, was a member of the constitutional conventions of 1792 and 1799, and served for many years as a member of the Kentucky legislature. Afterwards, in 1813, 1817, 1821 and 1825, he was a member of the electoral college. In the midst of these influences Zachary, Richard Taylor's second son and the future president, grew up. After his marriage with Margaret Mackall Smith of Calvert County, Maryland, he lived the life of a frontier army officer.1

^{*} Master's Thesis in History, Louisiana State University, 1937.

1 Annah Robinson Watson, Some Notable Families of America (New York, 1898), 1-10; Sketch of Zachary Taylor, in Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1986), XVIII, 350; William K. Bixby (ed.), Letters of Zachary Taylor from the Battle-Fields of the Mexican War (Rochester, New York, 1908), vii-viii.

Zachary Taylor was transferred from one army post to an-In 1822 he built Fort Jesup on the Louisiana frontier; in 1824 he was a recruiting officer near Louisville, and later he was transferred to Baton Rouge. He removed to Fort Snelling in Minnesota in 1829 and three years later to Fort Crawford in Wisconsin, where he participated in the Black Hawk War. In 1837 he assumed command of the field force in the war against the Seminoles in Florida, and the following year he became commander of the department. He was transferred in 1840 to the Southwest, with headquarters at Baton Rouge, and the following year was removed to Fort Smith, Arkansas. In 1844 he was ordered to Fort Jesup near the Louisiana-Texas boundary, and the next year he departed for Mexico.2

Richard Taylor, Zachary's only son and youngest child, was born in New Orleans,3 although some accounts state that his birthplace was near Louisville. He had three sisters: the eldest, Ann Mackall, who married Dr. Robert C. Wood, a surgeon in the United States Army; Sarah Knox, who died three months after her marriage to Jefferson Davis, then a young lieutenant; and Elizabeth, who married Colonel William Wallace Bliss of the United States Army, and after Bliss' death married Philip P. Dandridge of Winchester, Virginia.4 At Fort Snelling, Richard, as a pupil in a missionary school, had as classmates Indians and half-breeds, and on one occasion he fled with them to the woods and succeeded in escaping capture for two days.5 At Fort Crawford, Sarah Knox met Jefferson Davis. Open meetings were prohibited by Taylor, but Sarah often took Elizabeth and Dick, for such Richard was called, for a walk and upon her prearranged meeting with Davis she would tell the children they could play.6

Probably in 1839 Richard was sent to Edinburgh, Scotland, where he studied Latin and other subjects. After spending a year in France, he returned to America in 1841 and was sent to a preparatory school at Lancaster, Massachusetts, to study under a Mr.

² Sketch of Zachary Taylor in Dictionary of American Biography, XVIII, 349-351.

³ Richard Taylor Scrapbook, in possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie; family papers in possession of Mrs. Hardie; Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War (New York, 1879), 262.

⁴ Watson, Some Notable Families of America, 9-10; Bixby, Letters of Zachary Taylor, x-xiii.

⁵ Marion L. Phillips to Wendell H. Stephenson, May 27, 1935, enclosure from Record of the Class of 1845 of Yale College.

⁶ Walter Lynwood Fleming, "Jefferson Davis' First Marriage", in Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, XII (1912), 27.

⁷ Obituary notices on Richard Taylor, in Taylor Scrapbook; Marion L. Phillips to Wendell H. Stephenson, May 27, 1935, enclosure in letter from Record of 1845 of Yale College and Record of the Graduates of Yale College, 1870-1880.

Brooks. Although there for two years Richard's restless nature could not enjoy the freedom it craved and he early wished to leave.8 He entered Harvard College but remained only a short time, and at the beginning of his junior year in 1843 he transferred to Yale, from which institution he was graduated August 21, 1845. His father complained that the necessary funds were more than could conveniently be provided but at the same time he expressed anxiety as to Richard's future and desired that he should enter upon some professional study.10

In spite of ill-health and against his father's advice, Richard determined to join his parent in Mexico in 1846. He arrived in Matamoras on July 5.11 There he met Robert Wheat, a Louisianian, who was to serve in his command in Virginia during the Civil War.12 Zachary Taylor did not place Richard on his staff for fear of criticism, but suggested that he should remain idle until he could decide upon a profession.18 Believing it to be impossible for him to recover his health in the Mexican climate, Zachary sent him to New Orleans where he arrived about the middle of August.14

In September, Richard, Betty and their mother were at East Pascagoula, Mississippi, where it was hoped Richard would recover from his rheumatism.15 As his sickness continued during the winter of 1846-1847, his father prepared to send him to the Hot Springs in Arkansas, noting that perhaps the temptations of New Orleans were unfavorable to recovery. Because of frivolities on Bayou Sara the trip to the Hot Springs was temporarily abandoned, but later, on going to the springs, his health improved.16 After several weeks at the Arkansas resort, Richard rejoined his mother at Pascagoula and from there went to the White Sulphur Springs in Virginia. Although rather late in the season to obtain beneficial results from the waters, his health and appearance were very much improved.17

⁸ Zachary Taylor to E. A. Hitchcock, November 3, 1841, in Zachary Taylor Papers in Library of Congress (cited hereafter as Taylor Papers).

⁹ Marion L. Phillips to Wendell H. Stephenson, May 27, 1935, enclosure from Record of the Class of 1845 of Yale College; Notice of Richard Taylor, in Taylor Scrapbook.

¹⁰ Zachary Taylor to J. P. Taylor, January 29, 1845, in Taylor Papers.

¹¹ Taylor to Robert C. Wood, June 12, 1846, in Bixby, Letters of Zachary Taylor, 9; Taylor to Wood, July 9, 1846, ibid., 25.

¹² Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 25.

¹³ Taylor to Wood, July 14, 1846, in Bixby, Letters of Zachary Taylor, 27.

¹⁴ Taylor to Wood, August 4, 1846, ibid., 36; Taylor to Wood, August 19, 1846, ibid., 42.

¹⁵ Taylor to Wood, September 10, 1846, ibid., 56-57.

¹⁶ Taylor to Wood, May 9, 1847, ibid., 98; Taylor to Wood, May 30, 1847, ibid., 105; Taylor to Wood, August 5, 1847, ibid., 106-107; Taylor to Wood, July 20, 1847, ibid., 116-117; Taylor to Wood, August 5, 1847, ibid., 120; Zachary Taylor to J. P. Taylor, September, 1847, Taylor Papers.

¹⁷ Taylor to Wood, September 14, 1847, in Bixby, Letters of Zachary Taylor, 129; Zachary Taylor to J. P. Taylor, September 8, 1847, ibid., 1847, Taylor Papers; Zachary Taylor to J. P. Taylor, September 8, 1847, ibid.

Zachary Taylor was anxious for Richard to commence the study of a trade or profession. Apparently the son was disinclined, and finally the father decided to place the general supervision of his Mississippi plantation in Richard's hands, and when he had gained an adequate understanding of its operations he would then set him up on a more substantial basis. 18 Accordingly, in January, 1848, Richard was placed in charge of a large cotton plantation in Jefferson County, Mississippi, and it is said that he succeeded admirably as a planter.19

Richard gained a broad experience by visiting Washington for a time while his father was president. There he met many of the leading and influential Whig politicians of the day.20 Again his father would not give him a position and did not wish him to live in or near the capital.²¹ In July, 1849, in company with one of Martin Van Buren's sons, he visited the White Sulphur Springs in Virginia.²² Evidently after a short stay in Washington, he returned to Mississippi and resumed his tasks as manager of the cotton plantation.²³ Soon he was at Pass Christian, Mississippi, recuperating from his old illness and it was here he met Myrthe Bringier,24 whom he was to marry in February, 1851.

In the spring of 1850 his plantation was inundated and it appeared that the crop for that year would be lost. Zachary Taylor contemplated selling this property to acquire a sugar plantation in southern Louisiana.25 Upon the president's death, Dick heired a fair-sized estate. While his share was not immediately determined,26 in 1879 it was estimated by S. L. M. Barlow to have been approximately \$200,000.27

On June 13, 1851, Richard purchased "Fashion Plantation", located in St. Charles Parish twenty miles above New Orleans, from G. W. Fullerton for a price of \$115,000. It comprised sixteen arpents28 front on the Mississippi River and eighty in depth,

 ¹⁸ Taylor to Wood, October 27, 1847, in Bixby, Letters of Zachary Taylor, 145; Taylor to Wood, November 17, 1847, ibid., 152.
 19 Taylor to Wood, December 10, 1848, ibid., 169; Zachary Taylor to J. P. Taylor, March 10, 1848, Taylor Papers.
 20 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 239.
 21 Taylor to Wood, December 10, 1848, in Bixby, Letters of Zachary Taylor, 169.
 22 New Orleans Daily Crescent, August 2, 1849.
 23 Zachary Taylor to Richard Taylor, May 9, 1850, in possession of Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie

Eliza Ripley, Social Life in Old New Orleans, Being Recollections of My Girlhood (New York, 1912), 144-145.
 Zachary Taylor to Richard Taylor, May 9, 1850, in possession of Mrs. Alice Stauffer

Hardie.

W. W. Bliss to Richard Taylor, August 8, 1850; W. W. Bliss to Richard Taylor, October 18, 1850, both in possession of Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie.

Obituary notices in New York Papers, in Taylor Scrapbook.

An arpent is approximately 15% smaller than an acre.

making a total of 1088 acres. The estate also included an additional 117-acre tract which Fullerton had purchased from the United States government. A down payment of \$19,500 was supplemented by the assumption of two notes of \$16,000 and \$17,000, respectively, both payable on April 13, 1851; and four other notes of \$10,500 each, maturing consecutively on June 1 of 1851, 1852, 1853 and 1854. It was stipulated that the remaining \$20,500 should be discharged within one year after the last note had been paid. Upon the unpaid portions of the purchase price eight per cent interest was payable.29 Richard increased the scale of his operations by acquiring on November 7, 1856, 302 acres of swamp land from the state and an additional 203 acres on the following day.30 "Fashion" was further expanded by the purchase on December 28, 1858, of 157 acres, for which \$196.42 was paid.³¹ Thus "Fashion" increased in size until it embraced 241/2 arpents front and included a total of approximately 1740 acres.³²

All materials, farm implements, and sixty-four slaves owned by Fullerton were transferred to Taylor by the terms of the purchase agreement.33 For several decades the principal industry of St. Charles Parish had been the culture of cane and its manufacture into sugar. Taylor's plantation economy was no different from that of other sugar planters of the period.34 To expand his operations he purchased for \$16,200 eleven adult slaves, including field hands, sawyers, and one washerwoman. Of the total price \$5,400 was paid in cash, and two notes bearing eight per cent interest were negotiated, one for \$5,400 due in six months, and another for the same amount due in twelve months.35 His annual crop yield was above the average of most planters of his period. In 1851 he made 357 hogsheads of sugar, 36 in 1857 a total of 520, 37 in 1859 his crop dropped to 482,38 in 1860 it increased to 544,39 while in 1861, the first year of the war, it jumped to 930 hogsheads.40 This definitely placed Taylor in the group of the more important Louisiana sugar planters.

²⁹ St. Charles Parish Court Records (located at Hahnville, Louisiana), Conveyance Book A,

<sup>32-46.

30</sup> Ibid., Conveyance Book B, 360.

31 Ibid., 302-304.

32 Ibid., and of Fashion Plantation at the time of its sale in 1883.

33 Ibid., Conveyance Book A, 32-46.

34 New Orleans Daily Crescent, April 30, 1860; bills of lading in possession of Mrs. Alice

Stauffer Hardie.

St. Charles Parish Court Records, Conveyance Book B, 211-215.

P. A. Champomier, Statement of the Sugar Crop Made in Louisiana, 1851-1852. (New

Orleans, 1852), 18.

Ibid., 1857-1858 (New Orleans, 1858), 18.

Ibid., 1859-1860 (New Orleans, 1860), 18.

Ibid., 1860-1861 (New Orleans, 1861), 18.

Ibid., 1861-1862 (New Orleans, 1862), 18.

In February, 1851, Taylor married Myrthe Louise Bringier, daughter of a wealthy and prominent Creole planter of Ascension Parish. Noted as a woman of rare grace and beauty, she increased Taylor's influential connections as well as his fortune. To them were born five children, Louise, Betty, Zachary, Richard and Myrthe. Both boys died in 1863, aged six and three years, respectively.41

On "Fashion" Taylor lived the life of the well-to-do antebellum sugar planter. Acquiring an extensive library, he perused works on the art of war and mastered the intricacies of military tactics. In time he became well versed in English, French and Spanish literature. Perhaps, too, he acquired knowledge which in later years marked him as a brilliant conversationalist even among the renowned and noble of Europe. When in 1862 "Fashion" was plundered by Federal troops, the collection was destroyed or scattered and was never repossessed.42

Taylor became interested in horse racing and his stable participated in races at the Metairie track in New Orleans. His horse, "Bonnie Lassie", was not defeated before the spring races of 1859. On January 2, 1858, she won a purse of \$350, and on the 8th two purses of \$400 and \$300. However, his other horses were not so profitable, as "Eliza Goldsby" and "Red Jacket" placed second in races where larger purses were at stake.43 After taking no part in the winter Metairie Club races of 1859, the spring meeting found "Bonnie Lassie" once more a participant, this time placing second in a race for a purse of \$2000.44 This concluded Taylor's experience with racing stables.

Taylor early took an active interest in the politics of St. Charles Parish. He inherited his father's Whig politics, and upon the demise of that party he joined the American party shortly after its formation. Following his election to the State Senate. he became affiliated with the Democratic organization. His political service of record was as a delegate from St. Charles to the Whig Convention held in Donaldsonville on August 11, 1851, to nominate a candidate for Congress from the second Congressional district. A dispute over apportionment of delegates arose be-

4 Ibid., January 11, April 15, 1859.

⁴ New Orleans States, May 2, 1897; interview with Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie, Febru-

ary 3, 1937.

4 Ibid.; Letter to Lieutenant Fred Martmat, October 28, 1862, in Confederate Memorial Hall Papers, New Orleans, Louisiana; De Bow's Review (New Orleans), After the War Series, II (1866), 538, reprinted from Montpelier (Vermont) Journal.

43 New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 5, 9, 12, 13, 1858.

tween the New Orleans and the country members and a committee of ten, which included Taylor, was appointed to adjust the Taking the view of the city delegates, Taylor persuaded his country colleagues of the injustice of their claim and the dispute was accordingly adjusted. He would have been placed in nomination for the State Senate to represent the St. Charles and Jefferson district had it not been prevented by the constitutional residential requirement.45

In November, 1855, Taylor was elected on the American party ticket to the State Senate to represent the parishes of Jefferson and St. Charles. Although the Senate convened January 21, 1856, he did not take his seat until February 6.46 Meanwhile he had been appointed to the committees on Elections, Internal Improvements, and Swamp Lands and Levees,47 but his influence during this session of the legislature was negligible. In 1857 the legislature convened January 19, but Taylor did not answer roll call until the 21st.48 He was punctual in attendance but took no part in debate. In 1858 he was present at the opening meeting on January 18, representing, due to a reapportionment of senators, the senatorial district of St. Charles and Lafourche. He was appointed to membership on the committees on Amendments to the Constitution, Internal Improvements, and State Libraries. 49 The committee on Internal Improvements was of major importance, but Taylor's influence on it is uncertain. Later he was appointed a member of a joint committee to consider the report of the Swamp Land Commissioner for the year 1857.50 Just before the session came to a close, he was appointed a member of a committee of three to inform the Governor that the Senate was ready to adjourn. 51 A Senate measure allowing the importation of Negroes to serve as life apprentices aroused Taylor's opposition. 52 Why he took this attitude when he was a large slaveholder is problematical. Perhaps he believed slavery was wrong, or possibly he realized that an increase of laborers in Louisiana would lower the value of the slaves which he owned.

Taylor attended the Democratic caucus which selected Judah P. Benjamin as its candidate for United States senator. Unlike

⁴⁵ New Orleans Weekly Delta, August 13, 1851. 46 Senate Journal (Louisiana), 1856, p. 28.

^{**} Senate Journal (Loud 1 Ibid., 20.

** Ibid., 1857, pp. 3-4.

** Ibid., 1858, p. 4.

** Ibid., 7.

** Ibid., 137.

** Ibid., 137.

OF

others who attended the caucus, Taylor in the election supported Benjamin, who was elected, obtaining 59 votes to 55 for the combined opposition.53 He also followed the will of the Democratic caucus when it became necessary to elect a president of the Senate following the resignation of Lieutenant-Governor Charles H. Mouton. Wm. F. Griffin, a senator from the Rapides and Avoyelles district, obtained the Democratic nomination and was elected, receiving sixteen votes to nine for his two opponents.54

On February 10, 1859, Taylor introduced a measure legalizing the sale of certain real estate, and on February 14 one to create a levee district of the portions of the parishes of Ascension, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Charles, Jefferson, Orleans and Plaguemines, situated on the right bank of the Mississippi and the portions of Ascension, Assumption and Lafourche, on the left bank of Bayou Lafourche. He successfully moved that this bill be referred to a special committee composed of senators representing the proposed levee district. Being appointed chairman of this committee, he gave the bill a favorable report. He sponsored a third bill, appropriating \$11,000 from the funds of the First Swamp Land District to St. Charles Parish for levee purposes, which subsequently was passed.55 On February 26 he was elected a member of a conference committee of five to confer with a similar body from the House as to the method of apportionment of members of the legislature. However, on March 1, as chairman of the committee, Taylor reported that an agreement was not likely to be reached.56

Taylor was present on January 16, the opening day of the legislative session of 1860, and moved that the Senate should proceed to the election of a president. He was appointed one of a Senate committee of two to inform the Governor that the senators were ready to receive his communication.⁵⁷ On January 23 he was appointed to membership on the following committees: on Militia. on Libraries, on Banks and Banking, on Internal Improvements, Lands and Levees, on Finance, and chairman of the committee on Federal Relations.⁵⁸ The next day he moved that the Senate

⁵³ New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 26, 1859.

^{**} Ibid., March 3, 1859.

** Ibid., February 15, 17, March 7, 17, 19, 1859.

** Ibid., March 2, 5, 1859.

** Ibid., January 17, 18, 1860.

** Ibid., January 24, 1860.

proceed to the election of its remaining officers and offered resolutions relative to the appointment of translating and enrolling clerks.

On January 25 Taylor introduced a resolution relative to the organization of the militia, which subsequently was laid on the table. 59 In behalf of Judge Sterling of West Baton Rouge Parish, he introduced a bill appropriating \$10,000 to the parish of West Baton Rouge to defray half the expense of certain levee construction. The bill was referred to the committee on Public Works. As a member of the committee on Finance he reported favorably on a bill relating to the Charity Hospital of New Orleans. In behalf of the same committee, he reported unfavorably a bill exempting the New Orleans Opera House from taxation, as he did also one allowing the assessor of St. Landry Parish additional funds. 60 He was appointed a member of a special Senate committee of five to consider the construction of a railroad from Jackson to Baton Rouge.61

During this period there was, of course, a great deal of radical discussion. Taylor was certainly not a fire-eater, but he took an active interest in the sectional controversy. He was appointed to represent Louisiana at the Southern Commercial Convention held in Montgomery, Alabama, May 10, 1858, and later to the adjourned session at Vicksburg on May 9, 1859.62 At the Montgomery meeting the chief interest centered around resolutions favoring the repeal of the laws prohibiting the foreign slave trade, but it was agreed to take no action upon the matter. The following year at Vicksburg a resolution was passed favoring the repeal of these laws. 63 Taylor's actions upon the resolutions are not ascertainable, but as a senator he had opposed the reopening of this trade and it is doubtful that the proposed resolutions obtained his support.

It will be recalled that in 1851 Taylor was a member of a Whig Congressional nominating convention; eight years later he served as a delegate to a Democratic convention for the same purpose. Assembling at Thibodaux on June 25, 1859, a committee of five, including Taylor, was appointed to examine and pass upon

⁵⁹ Ibid., January 26, 1860.

^{**}Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837-1859", in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore), XLVIII (1930), No. 4, pp. 206-236.

the credentials of the delegates. Three contesting delegations were not admitted, and these nominated their own candidates. Taylor offered resolutions approving the Democratic principles of President Buchanan, which in spite of some opposition were passed.64

The National Democratic Convention met in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860. Taylor was elected a delegate from the second Congressional district of Louisiana to represent the state at large. 65 The Louisiana delegates arrived in Charleston several days before April 23, the opening day of the convention, and were invited to join delegates from other Gulf States to adopt a common policy for all. However, as moderate views were held by the Louisiana delegation, the proposal was rejected by them. 66 At the Convention were three administration Senators whose purpose was to prevent the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas: Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, Jesse D. Bright of Indiana, and John Slidell of Louisiana, the power behind the presidential throne. 67

Little was accomplished on the first day of the convention. The permanent organization was effected on the second day, and Taylor was elected vice-president for Louisiana.68 From the first it was apparent that the Alabama delegates were on the brink of withdrawal. In an attempt to prevent this, Taylor saw Senators Bayard, Bright and Slidell, and pointed out to them that Alabama's withdrawal would only precede that of the other Gulf States. After listening to him the three were convinced that their action was wrong. Accordingly, they saw William L. Yancey, a member of the Alabama delegation and one of the prominent fireeaters, and persuaded him to attempt to secure the consent of his fellow delegates to disregard instructions and withdraw from their radical position. However, Yancey failed in his efforts, and upon the adoption of the Douglas platform on April 30, the delegations from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Texas and Arkansas withdrew from the convention, 69 as. did the Georgia delegates on the following day. In a letter to Caleb Cushing, president of the convention, the Louisianians set

^{**}New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 27, 1859.

**Ibid., March 7, 1860; Mary Lilla McLure, "The Elections of 1860 in Louisiana", in:

Louisiana Historical Quarterly, IX (1926), 647; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 10-11.

**Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 10-11.

**Ibid., 12; Murat Halstead, A History of the National Political Conventions of the Current Campaign: Caucuses of 1860 (Columbus, Ohio, 1860), 12-13.

**Halstead, A History of the National Political Conventions of the Current Campaign:
Caucuses of 1860, p. 24.

**Didd., 66.

forth their reason for withdrawal. On March 5 a state Democratic convention had adopted the principle that it was the duty of the Federal government to protect slavery in the territories, and as this principle had been rejected by the National Convention the Louisiana delegates could no longer participate. 70

The day following withdrawal, the retiring delegates met in what was called the "Constitutional Democratic Convention" in an adjoining hall in Charleston, and on May 3 they adjourned to meet in Richmond on the second Monday in June. 71 When the convention assembled in Richmond on June 11, Taylor was one of the Louisiana delegates present.72 It soon adjourned to Baltimore where Taylor was again present, and he was elected permanent vice-president for Louisiana.73 This convention nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for president and Joseph Lane of Oregon for vice-president.

Immediately following the election of Abraham Lincoln various mass meetings were held in Louisiana. In New Orleans, on November 23, 1860, one called the Southern Rights Mass Meeting was held and Taylor was elected one of its vice-presidents.74

Thomas Overton Moore, Governor of Louisiana, called the legislature into special session to determine the advisability of calling a convention to deliberate upon the relations existing between the United States and the State of Louisiana. When the Senate convened on December 10, Taylor introduced a bill calling the convention. It was referred to a joint committee and soon passed. The election of delegates was to be held on January 7, 1861, and the convention was to assemble in Baton Rouge on the 23rd.75

Taylor was elected a representative delegate from St. Charles Parish. Prior to the meeting of the convention he was looked upon as an immediate secessionist rather than a co-operationist. 76 Meeting on January 24, the convention quickly organized with the election of ex-Governor Alexander Mouton as chairman.77 Taylor was appointed to membership on a committee of three to confer

James K. Greer, "Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861", in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XIII (1930), 468.
 Halstead, A History of the National Political Conventions of the Current Campaign: Caucuses of 1860, pp. 100-101.
 Ibid., 155.
 Ibid., 219-221.
 November 24, 1860.

⁷² Ibid., 155.
73 Ibid., 219-221.
74 New Orleans Orescent, November 24, 1860.
75 Ibid., December 11, 1860; New Orleans States, May 2, 1897; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 12.
76 New Orleans Daily Orescent, January 18, 1861.
77 Journal of the Convention of the State of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1861), 4.

with and invite commissioners from Alabama and South Carolina to address the convention.⁷⁸ He was assigned to membership on the committees on State Constitution and Protection of Private Rights, Finance and Contingent Expenses, and Military and Naval Affairs, being made chairman of the last.⁷⁹ He favored the ordinance of secession which was adopted on January 26, 1861, by a vote of 113 to 17.⁸⁰

As chairman of the committee on Military and Naval Affairs he introduced resolutions designed to strengthen the defenses of the state, and on February 5 he reported "An Ordinance for the Establishment of a Regular Military Force for the State of Louisiana". Both the resolutions and the ordinance were adopted. In the same capacity he brought before the convention resolutions approving the action of the Military Board in their organization of an enlisted force of 500 men for the defense of arsenals and forts seized by the state; and he reported the committee's recommendation on "the proper manner of inaugurating and saluting the national flag of Louisiana." This recommendation was adopted and the convention recessed to permit the ceremony to be carried out. Se

Although not placed in nomination as a delegate to the Montgomery Convention from the second Congressional district, Taylor received the ballot of Alexander Mouton for this position.⁸³ Periodically motions were introduced instructing the delegates to Montgomery to favor the reopening of the slave trade, but Taylor invariably opposed them.⁸⁴ Finally he voted for the adoption of the Confederate Constitution, which was ratified by the convention by a vote of 101 to 7.⁸⁵

Chapter II

EARLY PART OF THE WAR

At the close of the secession convention, Taylor believed war was inevitable. On the other hand, many of the secessionists thought the North would permit the "erring sisters to depart in

⁷⁸ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 15.

⁸¹ Ibid., 27-36

⁸² Ibid., 51

⁸⁴ Ibid., 28-30

⁸⁶ Ibid. 75-76.

peace", and consequently there was no need to prepare for something which would not take place. Finding himself out of harmony with prevailing opinion, Taylor retired to "Fashion", determined to await the course of events. While there he wrote William T. Sherman, then superintendant of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy, urging him to remain in Louisiana, but in this action Taylor met with no success.1 Shortly afterwards, at the request of Braxton Bragg, Taylor left for Pensacola, Florida, where Bragg commanded volunteers from the adjacent states.2

Across Lake Pontchartrain from New Orleans was located Camp Moore, and there the ninth Louisiana regiment was assembled along with other troops. Fearing that they would not be sent to Virginia in time to participate in the war, this regiment elected Taylor as its colonel, believing that as a brother-in-law of Jefferson Davis, he could obtain their immediate transfer to the East.3 Still at Pensacola, Taylor was informed of his election. He immediately hastened to New Orleans and was commissioned on July 2, 1861.4 His regiment was mustered into service on July 6, and ordered to Virginia.5 Meanwhile, he placed his private affairs in order, and procured equipment, guns and ammunition which could not then be obtained in Virginia. He arrived in Richmond on July 20 and found his regiment, approximately one thousand strong, going into camp. Immediately following his arrival, he visited the War Office and requested that transportation be provided to send his troops to the front. This was promised, but as the means of transportation did not arrive until the next morning, the regiment did not reach Manassas Junction until the night after the First Battle of Bull Run. Several days later, in company with Generals Joseph E. Johnston and P. G. T. Beauregard, Taylor inspected the battlefield.6

Taylor's regiment was united with the sixth, seventh and eighth Louisiana regiments and Major Robert Wheat's special battalion to form the eighth brigade which was placed under the

⁶ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 16-18.

¹ William T. Sherman, Memoirs of General William T. Sherman, 2 vols. (New York, 1887), II, 474.

Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 15.

³ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 15.

⁸ Walter L. Fleming, Louisiana State University, 1860-1896 (Baton Rouge, 1936), 360.

⁴ Richard Taylor's commission as Colonel of the ninth Louisiana regiment, July 2, 1861, in possession of Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie.

⁵ M. Grivot to Moore, November 22, 1861, in The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 129 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), (Cited hereafter as Official Records), Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 750; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction.

command of Brigadier-General H. T. Walker of Georgia. Many of Taylor's troops became ill with the various camp diseases, some seriously, and a few died. He spent a large portion of his time in the hospital attempting to restore the sick and comfort the dying. The state of his own health necessitated a visit to the Fauquier Sulphur Springs about twenty miles south of Manassas. There he was nursed back to health by his sister, Mrs. Philip Pendleton Dandridge, formerly Mrs. W. W. Bliss, who lived in Winchester. Shortly after he returned to the army, Taylor learned that he had been promoted to brigadier-general on October 21, 1861, and assigned to relieve Walker as commander of the eighth brigade.8

This promotion was quite a surprise to Taylor and proved to be an embarrassment, as he was the junior colonel of the brigade and had not participated in the battle of Manassas. Going to Richmond for the express purpose of having his commission revoked, he saw Jefferson Davis and attempted to persuade him to appoint someone else in his stead, but Davis would not hear to it. On November 4, 1861, he assumed command and during the next few weeks the men were instructed in marching and in the art of warfare.10 Upon one occasion he inflicted capital punishment on offenders from Wheat's battalion. Disorder prevailed generally and several "Tigers", for such they were called, were placed in the guardhouse. Their comrades attempted to release them but two of the ringleaders were captured, court-martialed and shot. This was the first military execution in the Army of Northern Virginia.11

The question of army organization was one of paramount importance and General Joseph E. Johnston and the Richmond authorities held divergent views upon the subject. Taylor was sent by Johnston to Richmond to persuade Davis to agree to his plan of organization, but he met with no success.12 Two days after Taylor's assumption of command, his brigade, along with those commanded by Brigadier-Generals Arnold Elzey and George Crittenden, was placed in Major-General E. Kirby Smith's division.13 Ten days later, November 16, the eighth was placed in

⁷ Ibid., 22; Special Orders No. 169, July 25, 1861, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. II,

^{1010. 22;} Special Orders No. 109, July 25, 1861, Official Records, Ser. 1, Vol. 11, D. 1000.

* Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 23; Taylor's commission as brigadier-general, October 21, 1861, in possession of Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie.

* P.G.T. Beauregard, Special Orders No. 484, November 4, 1861, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. V, p. 936; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 23-24.

10 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 23-24.

11 Ibid., 24-25.

12 Ibid., 26.

13 Iohnston's Special Orders No. 491 November 6, 1861, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. V.

¹⁸ Johnston's Special Orders No. 491, November 6, 1861, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. V,

the First Division under the command of Major-General Earl Van Dorn.¹⁴ In January, 1862, Bowyer's Virginia artillery was added to Taylor's brigade and with it placed in Kirby Smith's Fourth Division. 15 Still later it became a part of Major-General Richard S. Ewell's division. In early 1862 the regiments averaged about 800 men; and the brigade thus numbered over 3000 muskets.16

By February, 1862, it was believed that Johnston's army could easily be turned by a Federal movement. Therefore, on March 9, it, including Ewell's division, moved from Manassas to the vicinity of the Orange County Court House on the Rappahannock where the Federal advance could be met whether it came by way of Fredericksburg or the peninsula. While encamped there, Taylor was sent to Richmond to report the affairs on the Rappahannock: the position of the Confederates and the Federal force opposed to it.17 Remaining in camp but for a few days, the army burned the bridges and abandoned the country.18 The Federals under George B. McClellan were threatening to attack Richmond. To defeat this movement Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson was ordered to move against the Federals in the Shenandoah Valley and threaten Washington, forcing the withdrawal of troops from active operations for its protection.

To reinforce Jackson, Ewell's division was detached from Johnston's command at Gordonsville and ordered to the Valley¹⁹ where it arrived on April 30, 1862, and went into camp to await Jackson's orders. A few days later, Taylor's brigade was transferred to the southwest where forage was more plentiful. The second day there, it was ordered to Newmarket, twenty miles north of its location, where Jackson was joined on May 21. With the eighth brigade in the lead, Jackson marched toward Front Royal where a small Federal force was located. Failing in his attempt at surprise, Jackson ordered the eighth brigade and a Maryland regiment to cross the Shenandoah and capture the town. Of the two bridges across that stream, one a railroad and the other a wagon bridge, Taylor chose the former since Federal guns were directly trained on the latter. Crossing this bridge in spite of

S. Cooper, General Orders No. 18, November 16, 1861, ibid., 961.
 Johnston to Judah P. Benjamin, January 14, 1862, ibid., 1030.
 E. J. Allen to George B. McClellan, January 27, 1862, ibid., 737; Taylor, Destruction

and Reconstruction, 47.

17 Ewell to Robert E. Lee, April 30, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 877.

18 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 35-39.

¹⁹ Ibid., 42.

brisk musketry and artillery fire, the town was captured after a short skirmish. After the battle began the wagon bridge was ignited but the Confederates, upon gaining possession of the town, extinguished the blaze. The Federals retreated to Winchester without being pursued by Jackson, who was deficient in cavalry. The capture was no barren victory. Approximately 700 prisoners, many pieces of artillery, hundreds of small arms, and quartermaster and commissary stores valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars, were the spoils of victory. With entrance into Front Royal, the road to Winchester lay before Jackson.²⁰

The next day, May 24, the march to Winchester was begun with skirmishers from Taylor's brigade in advance. At Middletown, Federal troops were encountered on the Valley turnpike and immediately attacked by Taylor's brigade. This column was broken and the smaller portion retreated to the Potomac River and did not participate in the remainder of the Valley campaign. Later, at Newton the Confederate advance was delayed but was renewed at dusk and by dawn of the 25th Winchester was sighted. After some skirmishing Jackson saw that a Federal battery upon a ridge must be captured before the town could be taken. Accordingly, he ordered Taylor to accomplish this feat. With the seventh regiment in reserve, the brigade gained possession of the hill and forced the Federals to remove their battery. The ridge taken, the Federals retreated through the town, leaving it in the hands of the Confederates.21 The eighth brigade suffered severely during the three-days' fight from Front Royal to Winchester, its casualties amounting to 21 killed and 109 wounded.²²

The following day Taylor's command was moved north on the Harper's Ferry road toward the Shenandoah River. On May 31 he retraced his steps to Winchester, cleared the town of stragglers, and by night rejoined Ewell at Strasburg.23 Jackson ordered Ewell to occupy the attention of forces under Major-General John C. Fremont to permit the removal of the stores captured at Winchester. The next morning, June 1, Taylor's brigade was placed in reserve but later in the day was moved against the Federal right and successfully arrested its advance. During the night

28 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 61.

²⁰ Ibid., 48-54; Clement A. Evans (ed.), Confederate Military History, 12 vols. (Atlanta, 1899), X, 216-218; Taylor's Report, May 26, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 1, pp. 800-801; Jackson's Report, April 10, 18, 1863, ibid., 701-709.

²¹ Taylor's Report, May 26, 1862, ibid., 800-801; Jackson's Report, April 10, 1863, ibid., 701-709; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 54-59.

²² Taylor's Report, May 26, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 1, pp. 800-801.

Federal cavalry unexpectedly came upon Taylor's camp and it became necessary to retreat while putting up a night fight. The next day Brigadier-General Charles Winder's brigade of Ewell's division relieved Taylor as the rear guard and, aided by Turner Ashby's cavalry, ended the Federal advance.24 That afternoon Taylor went into camp where he remained until the morning of June 4, when he marched thirty miles toward Port Republic and on the night of the 5th rejoined the remainder of Ewell's division.25 On June 7 Ewell marched to Cross Keys, within four miles of Port Republic and awaited developments.

At Cross Keys, Ewell opposed a force under Fremont, while at Port Republic Jackson was before Federal troops commanded by Brigadier-General James Shields. On the morning of June 8 Taylor's brigade was ordered to march to Port Republic as Shields was threatening to attack Jackson's forces. However, before their arrival they were halted and ordered to return to Cross Keys, as Fremont was attacking Ewell by this time. The seventh and eighth regiments were deployed to support a battery in the center and the sixth and ninth, together with Wheat's battalion, were sent to the right to support Brigadier-General Isaac R. Trimble's brigade. The Federals became aware that Confederate reinforcements had arrived, and consequently they retired from the field. As Taylor's command scarcely participated in the fighting, its total loss was only nine killed and wounded.

Ewell's division camped on the battlefield at Cross Keys on the night of June 8 and marched to Port Republic the next morning. When they arrived a general engagement was raging between Jackson and Shields. A six-gun battery upon a slope was rapidly wrecking the Confederate hope of victory. Immediately upon Taylor's arrival, he was ordered by Jackson to capture this battery. By means of a wooded path to the rear, his brigade was able to reach the battery without being subjected to a murderous fire. After capturing and losing the guns twice, the brigade, with reinforcements from Ewell, captured and held them after a third The captured pieces were then turned on the Federals which forced them to flee. Taylor's entire command with the exception of the seventh regiment participated in the capture; the seventh had been left by Jackson's orders in the front ranks and

²⁴ Ibid., 64-69. ²⁵ Ibid., 70-71.

there it put up a stiff fight. During the two-days' fight the brigade lost a total of 307 men.26

Jackson ordered the captured battery turned over to the eighth brigade. Jefferson Davis informed Taylor that should an unattached Louisiana company of artillery or infantry be found, it would be assigned to receive the guns.27 However, this was not accomplished until after Taylor was transferred to Louisiana.

The famous Valley campaign came to a close on June 12, 1862, when Jackson's army moved down the valley which was then entirely free of the Federals. Afterwards, Taylor left for Richmond where he received correspondence and transacted business at the War Office.28 His brigade marched to Ashland, twelve miles north of Richmond, arriving on June 25.

On the day of Taylor's arrival in Ashland he was stricken with paralysis and found it necessary to remain there the next morning. He placed the command in the hands of Isaac G. Seymour, colonel of the sixth regiment, and the brigade continued to participate with Jackson's command in the Seven Days' battle around Richmond. When the battle began at Cold Harbor, Taylor was placed in an ambulance and driven to the battlefield. Struggling upon his horse, he found his brigade and entered the action. His troops had shortly before charged the Federal line and Seymour was killed in the charge. L. S. Stafford, colonel of the ninth regiment, then assumed command and formed the brigade in line of battle near the edge of some woods, but the movements for that day were over.29 The loss was great, the total casualties being 174, of which 32 were killed and 142 wounded.³⁰

The brigade remained on the battlefield of Cold Harbor that night, and the next day it was ordered to pursue the retiring Federals. For two days the Confederates steadily advanced, but upon their arrival at Malvern Hill the Federals prepared to make

²⁸ Ibid., 76-77; Taylor's Report, June 11, 1862, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 1, pp. 801-803; Ewell's Report, June 16, 1862, ibid., 781-783; Ewell's Report, July 8, 1862, ibid., 785-787; Jackson's Report, April 14, 1863, ibid., 711-716; New Orleans Daily True Delta, July 4, 1862; ibid., July 6, 1862, copied from Lynchburg Virginian; Henry B. Kelly, Port Republic (Philadelphia, 1886), 1-23; John E. Cooke, Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography (New York, 1876), 188-191.

28 Davis to Taylor, June 19, 1862, Dunbar Rowland (ed.), Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers and Speeches, 10 vols. (Jackson, Mississippi, 1923), V, 280-281.

²⁸ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 80-81.

²⁵ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 60-61.

²⁶ Ibid., 83-85; L. A. Stafford's Report, July 30, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. 2, pp. 619-620; Ewell's Report, August 4, 1862, ibid., 605-607; Evans, Confederate Military History, X, 220-222.

²⁶ Report of casualties at battle of Cold Harbor or Gaines Mill, June 27, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. 2, p. 609.

a stand. Here they chose a favorable position and disposed of their artillery so that it was impossible for it to be overpowered. The Confederate plan was to attack the Federal line and push it from the hill. Because of conflicting orders and misunderstandings, it was late in the afternoon before the general attack commenced and even later before Taylor's brigade charged the Federal batteries only to be driven back with heavy loss. Luckily the ninth regiment misunderstood the order and did not participate in the ill-fated charge. 31 Although not suffering so severely as at Cold Harbor, the loss was great, 24 being killed and 94 wounded, making a total of 118 casualties.³²

This battle marked the close of the campaign around Richmond. Paralysis had prevented Taylor from participating actively in it. His condition was such that he was taken to Richmond to recuperate,33 where he remained until near the end of the month. His brigade was designated as the second and was placed in Robert E. Lee's command on July 26, 1862.34 Two days later Taylor was appointed a major-general³⁵ and it was planned to assign him to duty in Louisiana. Braxton Bragg, then ranking officer of the army in the West, asked that Taylor be transferred to serve as one of his division commanders, but Davis believed his value to the Confederacy would be greater should he be placed in Louisiana. 36 Davis seemed to have great faith in Taylor's ability as a commander and believed that under his leadership results would be accomplished.37 It was thought by Davis, Lee and Jackson that Taylor would hurry the enlistment of men from Louisiana for the Army of Northern Virginia.38 Leaving Virginia about August 1, 1862, Taylor, then fully recuperated from his illness, arrived in Chattanooga on August 5 and discussed the military problem with Bragg for two days. 39 By August 20 he was in Opelousas, where he rejoined his family from whom he

Vol. XI, Pt. 2, p. 609.

33 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 93.

M. Stafford's Report, July 30, 1862, ibid., 619-620; Ewell's Report, August 4, 1862, ibid., 605-607; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 91-92.
 Report of casualties at battle of Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I,

³⁴ Secretary of War, Special Orders No. 173, July 26, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. 3, p. 655.

Taylor's commission as Major-General, July 28, 1862, in possession of Mrs. Alice

^{**}Taylor's commission as Major-General, July 28, 1862, in possession of Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie.

**Taylor's Destruction and Reconstruction, 99; Davis to Bragg, August 5, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LII, Pt. 2, p. 335; Thomas Jordan to Beauregard, August 7, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 670.

**Toylor State of Moore, July 26, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 786; Davis to F. R. Lubbock, August 15, 1862, Rowland, Jeferson Davis, Constitutionalist, V, 318.

**Lee to Jackson, July 26, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, pp. 917-918; Davis to Lee, July 25, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 2, p. 597.

**Jordan to Beauregard, August 7, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 670; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 99.

had been separated since leaving for Virginia in July of the preceding year. Later he saw Governor Moore in Opelousas, and there assumed command of the District of West Louisiana. 40

Chapter III

THE DISTRICT OF WEST LOUISIANA

Following the capture of New Orleans by the Federals in April, 1862, Confederate authority ceased in western Louisiana. The area as far north as Port Hudson on the Mississippi River was occupied by the Federals, who thus gained possession of the richest quarter of the state. A similar condition of affairs existed in the remaining portions of the Trans-Mississippi region. As an attempted remedy, early in May, 1862, the Trans-Mississippi Department was created to embrace all Confederate territory west of the river. Theophilus H. Holmes was assigned to its command, which he assumed in the latter part of July, making his headquarters at Little Rock, Arkansas.2 The new department embraced three districts, Texas and the Arizona Territory constituted the District of Texas; Arkansas, Missouri and the Indian country comprised the District of Arkansas; and that portion of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River became the District of West Louisiana.3 As commander of the last, Taylor was instructed to prevent Federal navigation of the rivers, to enroll recruits for his own and the Virginia armies, and to extend Confederate authority over as much of Louisiana as possible.4

Taylor's command consisted of a small body of state troops which had been transferred to the Confederate service and Colonel Edward Waller's battalion of Texas cavalry.5 Establishing his headquarters at Alexandria, Taylor attempted to increase his force. Requesting that troops be sent to his district, he received from the East two small regiments, the 18th Louisiana and the Crescent, a small battalion of infantry and light artillery.6 By

⁴⁰ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 102.

Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 102.
 S. Cooper, General Orders No. 39, May 26, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. IX, p. 713.
 Secretary of War, Special Orders No. 164, July 16, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 855;
 Holmes, General Orders No. 1, July 30, 1862, ibid., 860.
 Holmes, General Orders No. 5, August 20, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. IX, p. 731.
 Cooper to Taylor, July 30, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 791.
 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 110.
 Ibid., 113: Earl Van Dorn's Special Orders No. 58, September 2, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 691.

October 1 a total of 4,697 troops had assembled for duty. In response to an appeal that Texas troops be ordered to Louisiana, Taylor was notified that Brigadier-General H. H. Sibley's brigade of cavalry would be forwarded to his assistance, but it did not arrive until March of the following year.8 In November he requested but did not receive the loan of a regiment from John C. Pemberton, the commander of troops at Vicksburg.9

General Taylor also sought to augment his forces by a rigid enforcement of the Conscription Act of April 16, 1862, which applied to all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. Accordingly he established Camp Pratt at New Iberia where he enrolled approximately 3,000 men, while conscripts from the northern portion of the state were concentrated at Monroe. However, many of these were forwarded to fill in the ranks of Louisiana regiments on duty at Port Hudson and thus did not increase Taylor's strength. Grave difficulties were naturally experienced in the enforcement of the Conscription Act. On occasion deserters and those who failed to report for duty received drastic treatment; at other times Taylor attempted to encourage voluntary enlistment by suspending the provisions of the act.¹⁰

The Trans-Mississippi Department was ill supplied with the equipment necessary to prosecute the war successfully. No munition factories existed in Louisiana and, excepting a small supply in state arsenals and a small quantity which had been received from the East, little was to be had. Of 4,000 stands of small arms destined for shipment to Louisiana, over half had arrived by the middle of November. 11 West Louisiana also lacked artillery and heavy seige guns. As Taylor wished to erect works for the defense of the Red and Ouachita rivers, he requested that eightor ten-inch guns be forwarded for use on these fortifications. These sizes were not available at the time, but two 24-pounders and two 32-pounders were sent on November 2712 and three weeks later the requested sizes were shipped.13

Abstract of Taylor's forces, October 1, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 820.
 Secretary of War, Special Orders No. 16, January 20, 1863, ibid., 954; James Reily to J. Bankhead Magruder, March 2, 1863, ibid., 1003.
 Taylor to Pemberton, November 4, 1862, ibid., 855; Pemberton to Taylor, November 6, 1862, ibid.

⁹ Taylor to Pemberton, November 2, 1862, ibid., 939, Temporal 1862, ibid., 855.

¹⁰ Taylor to Moore, November 21, 1862, ibid., p. 874; Taylor to George W. Randolph, November 21, 1862, ibid., 872; Taylor to Cooper, December 30, 1862, ibid., 919.

¹¹ Randolph to Edward Sparrow, September 17, 1862, ibid., 808; J. Gorgas to Davis, November 8, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 912.

¹² Taylor to Cooper, November 1, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 877; J. F. Gilmer to Seddon, December 11, 1862, ibid., 876-877.

¹³ Seddon to Pemberton, January 2, 1863, ibid., 922.

Before the war the South produced only a small portion of the salt which it consumed. For many years the local needs of South Louisiana had been supplied from a salt spring ten miles south of New Iberia, on Avery Island in Vermillion Bay. Due to the increased demand for salt, shafts were sunk and in May, 1862, rock salt was discovered. Large quantities of salt were mined and shipped to the Cis-Mississippi. A packing plant was established near the salt mine and beef was cured to be transported to the East. For a time it seemed as though the government would assume control of the mine in order that production of salt might be speeded up, but this did not occur. Taylor was directed to use military force for its protection and operation and accordingly he detailed troops thither. These works continued to supply salt to the Confederacy until their capture by the Federals in April, 1863, following the fall of Fort Bisland.

Federal troops in the vicinity of New Orleans participated in various plundering expeditions. Their headquarters were at Bayou des Allemands and Taylor determined to capture this work. With only a few troops he surprised the garrison and took 136 prisoners. This was the first Confederate victory in the District of West Louisiana. Taylor notified Benjamin F. Butler, the Federal commander, that the soldiers captured at des Allemands would be exchanged and that the plundering expeditions must be discontinued. He threatened, should they not cease, to select ten prisoners by lot and execute them. In reply, Butler stated that should the guilty parties be exchanged he would punish them, but that if they were harmed while in Confederate hands he would retaliate on prisoners which he held. Butler believed that Taylor's actions were influenced by the fact that "Fashion" had been plundered, his father's sword taken, and his private posses-

15 Ibid., 32.

¹⁸ Butler to Jeff Thompson, September 17, 1862, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. IV, pp. 523-524; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 111-112.

¹⁴ Ella Lonn, Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy (New York, 1933), 19-34.

¹⁶ Taylor to Johnston, January 24, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, pp. 958-959; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 114.

¹⁷ Augustus Chew to John J. Pettus, September 16, 1862, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. LII, Pt. 2, p. 355; Pettus to Davis, September 20, 1862, ibid., 354; Davis to Pettus, October 25, 1862, ibid., 382-383; Davis to Pettus, September 25, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 713; Cooper to Taylor, November 12, 1862, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 864; Taylor to Pemberton, November 21, 1862, ibid., 873; Taylor to Johnston, January 24, 1863, ibid., 958-959.

¹⁹ Taylor to Butler, September 8, 1862, in Jessie A. Marshall (ed.), Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War, 5 vols. (Norwood, Mass., 1917), II, 265-266.
²⁹ Butler to Taylor, September 10, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, pp. 565-567.

sions removed or destroyed.²¹ For some time this controversy prevented the exchange of prisoners.²²

The Bayou Lafourche country was occupied by the Confederates soon after Taylor assumed command. The possession of this region was of major importance to the security of New Orleans, and consequently the Federals determined to drive them out. Accordingly, by October 24, 1862, a Federal force of over 3,000 troops was concentrated for the attack under the command of Godfrey Weitzel. To oppose this force Alfred Mouton, who in Taylor's absence commanded on the Lafourche, had but 1,392 men. On October 24 Weitzel arrived at Donaldsonville and the following day commenced his march down the Bayou. On the 27th at Labadieville Mouton resisted the Federal advance but was forced to retire after a short struggle. Upon learning that reinforcements were on their way to Weitzel, Mouton retired to Berwick Bay which he crossed on the 30th.23 From there he retreated up Bayou Teche, and with the aid of the gunboat Cotton halted the Federal advance on November 3.24 After this repulse, Taylor arrived from North Louisiana and assumed command of the operations.25 However, after their repulse on November 3, the Federals withdrew, leaving the Confederates in possession of Bayou Teche, with the Federals retaining control of Berwick Bay and the Lafourche country. In the following January Weitzel determined to capture or destroy the Cotton, and with four gunboats and a supporting force of infantry, cavalry and artillery, he advanced up the Teche on the 10th. The Cotton's supporting force was driven in and the gunboat assailed. Throughout the day it seemed as though surrender was imminent, but the attacks were withstood and that night the boat was scuttled to prevent further Federal advance up the Teche.26

²¹ Butler to Thompson, September 17, 1862, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. IV, pp. 523-524; Letter from a Vermont Soldier back home, printed in Montpelier (Vermont) Journal, and reprinted in De Bow's Review, II (After the War Series), 538; Letter describing the looting, found in Confederate Memorial Hall Papers (New Orleans), October 28, 1862.

²² Lloyd Tilghman to J. R. Waddy, October 23, 1863, Official Records, Ser. II, Vol. IV, p. 926; John S. Clark to Nathaniel P. Banks, February 7, 1863, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. V, pp. 252-253.

²³ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 113-114; Butler's Report, October 24, 1862, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 159; Weitzel's Report, October 29, 1862, ibid., 167-170; Mouton's Report, November 4, 1862, ibid., 176-180; Taylor's Report, November 9, 1862, ibid., 174-176.

²⁴ Mouton's Report, November 4, 1862, ibid., 176-180; Taylor's Report, November 9, 1862, ibid., 174-176.

²⁵ Taylor's Report, November 9, 1862, *ibid.*, 174-176; William T. Palfrey Diary, 1862-1895 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University), Entry for November 6, 1862.

²⁸ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 120-121; Weitzel's Report, January 18, 1863, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, pp. 234-237.

Early in February, 1863, the Federal gunboat Queen of the West passed the Vicksburg batteries and caused alarm between that place and Port Hudson. Taylor converted the tow-boat Webb into a gunboat and prepared to capture or destroy the marauder. After the destruction of three large steamers, 27 the Queen of the West entered Red River and was disabled and captured by the guns at Fort De Russy below Alexandria on February 14.28 Almost simultaneously with this capture, it was discovered that the heavy ironclad Indianola had passed the batteries at Vicksburg and after a furious struggle was captured by the Confederates on the night of February 24. 20 Even with these successes, the Confederate control of the Mississippi between Port Hudson and Vicksburg was soon lost, as several ships of war passed Port Hudson and effectually prevented Confederate navigation.

In February, 1863, the Federals believed that the Confederates contemplated an attack upon New Orleans and the Lafourche country,30 but Taylor did not consider assuming the offensive. Not until the following month did Sibley's cavalry, whose arrival had been anticipated since the preceding October, finally arrived in Opelousas in company with a four-gun battery. In the latter part of March Weitzel, with the gunboat Diana and a supporting infantry force, moved up the Teche in an effort to drive the Confederate pickets farther up that stream. However, the infantry force was defeated and the gunboat captured. 31 Because of high water, the Federals were prevented from operating against Port Hudson³² and consequently they decided to move against Taylor on the Teche to prevent the interruption of communication to New Orleans and permit the uninterrupted investment of Port Hudson.33 Accordingly, the Federals mobilized their forces at Brashear City (now Morgan City) in the latter part of March. On April 10 they crossed Berwick Bay and drove in the Confederate pickets. Taylor's main body was located at Fort Bisland, halfway between the Bay and Franklin. A portion of the Federal troops was sent to turn the Confederate position

²⁷ David D. Porter to Gideon Wells, February 5, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV,

David D. Porter to Gideon Wells, February 5, 1863, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 32-33.

**Taylor's Report, February 15, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, p. 345; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 122-123.

**Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 123-125; Taylor's Report, February 25, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 361-362.

**Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 5-21.

**Weitzel's Report, March 28, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 290; Taylor's Report, March 28, 1863, ibid., 290-291.

**Gardner to Taylor, March 21, 1863, ibid., 1021.

**Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 5-21; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 127-128.

by Grand Lake while the main body under Weitzel and William H. Emory advanced against Fort Bisland, where slight skirmishing occurred on that day. With 600 men Mouton was placed between the Lake and Bayou Teche; the Diana guarded the Bayou and the main road; while 1600 men with twelve guns held a line of embankments on the western side of the stream. William G. Vincent's cavalry and a section of artillery were dispatched to prevent the Federals from effecting a landing on Grand Lake. Hoping to force the withdrawal of the Federals in the rear, Taylor ordered Sibley to attack in front, but his order was not executed and the plan miscarried.

Next day the main body of Federals on the west side of the Bayou advanced upon the Confederate line. Attacks were successfully repulsed throughout the day with heavy loss to the Federals, while on the opposite side Mouton defeated every attempt to gain his rear. However, Taylor's plans were thwarted as Vincent failed to prevent troops from landing in the rear and the Federals gained possession of the Confederate line of retreat. On learning of this, Taylor ordered an immediate withdrawal to New Iberia by way of Franklin. The next day, at Irish Bend, he engaged the Federals and checked their advance sufficiently to effect his complete escape. For two days the withdrawal continued until Vermillion Bayou was crossed. Here a severe cavalry skirmish occurred and intermittent fighting was carried on until Opelousas was reached. From there the troops marched to Alexandria without molestation on the part of the Federals.34 Both contestants had suffered heavily in the fighting. Because of straggling and desertion, the Confederate force decreased over a third, while the Federals in the battles of April 12, 13 and 14 lost nearly 600 men.35

During this retreat E. Kirby Smith, who had succeeded Holmes as commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department on March 7, 1863,36 attempted to concentrate troops for Taylor's support. Because of high water it was impossible to transfer troops from the Cis-Mississippi.37 As at first it was thought that Taylor

<sup>Banks' Report, April 17, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, pp. 296-298; Tavlor's Report, April 23, 1863, ibid., 388-396; Smith's Report, April 23, 1863, ibid., 386-387; William Dwight's Report, April 27, 1863, ibid., 370-374; Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 5-21; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 129-136.
Seport of casualties of Federals, April 12th, 13th, and 14th, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 319.</sup>

^{**}Smith, General Orders No. 1, March 7, 1863, ibid., 1005.

**Smith to Pemberton, April 19, 1863, ibid., 1046; Smith to Pemberton, April 20, 1863, ibid., 1047.

would retreat to East Texas via Niblett's Bluff,38 available troops in East Texas were ordered to converge there. 30 J. Bankhead Magruder, commander of the Texas District, reported that 4,694 troops had been sent from his district to meet Banks' advance.40 However, these reinforcements did not arrive in time to be of aid. An infantry division, commanded by Major-General James G. Walker, was ordered from Arkansas to Taylor's support but did not arrive in time to fight Banks.41 Thus Taylor received but. few reinforcements to prevent Banks' advance.

The Federals occupied Opelousas on April 20, 1863, and five days later the Confederates began their evacuation of Alexandria. Banks' movement toward Alexandria was begun on May 4 and that city was reached on the 7th, where a squadron of Federal gunboats arrived on the same day. 42 A small body of Federals. advanced toward Natchitoches and Taylor prepared to evacuate it also.43 Luckily for the Confederates, Banks concluded his. strength was not sufficient to possess the Red River Valley, and as the water had now receded it would be more profitable to attack Port Hudson.44 In accordance with this plan, Banks. evacuated Alexandria on May 14 and 15, crossed the Mississippi on the 23rd and invested Port Hudson on the 24th.45 The Confederates immediately resumed their occupation of Alexandria. and Taylor ordered Mouton to conduct operations in the Teche country.

For some time Vicksburg had been beseiged by the Federals. Johnston was attempting to obtain a sufficient force to raise the siege but to no avail and Pemberton requested aid from Taylor. From the early part of 1863 to the Federal assumption of control of navigation on the Mississippi, Port Hudson had been supplied with provisions from West Louisiana.46 The same thing had been true in regard to Vicksburg only to a lesser extent. However, U. S. Grant landed troops west of Vicksburg and operated at.

Niblett's Bluff is approximately fifteen miles north of Sabine Lake on the Louisiana side of the Sabine River.
 Smith to Taylor, April 22, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 1051.
 Magruder's Report, June 8, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, p. 58.
 Smith to Taylor, May 29, 1863, ibid., 19; Smith to Taylor, May 9, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 1081; Smith to Taylor, May 11, 1863, ibid., 1081-1082; Smith to Walker, May 14, 1863, ibid., 1083-1084.
 Banks' Report, May 8, 1863, ibid., 313.
 Smith to W. R. Scurry, May 14, 1863, ibid., 1084; Banks to Halleck, May 12, 1863, ibid., 316-317.

ibid., 316-317.

44 Banks to Halleck, May 12, 1863, ibid., 316-317; Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 5-21.

45 Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., 5-21; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 137..

46 Taylor to Pemberton, February 20, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 636-637; Pemberton to Taylor, January 28, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XV, p. 963.

Richmond and Milliken's Bend. In response to Pemberton's request,47 Taylor was ordered to operate with Walker's division opposite that place and to transport supplies across the river if possible. Taylor did not believe such a movement expedient and he unsuccessfully remonstrated against it.48

All troops in West Louisiana except Walker's division were operating in the southern section of the state. This division was composed of three brigades, Henry E. McCulloch's, Horace Randal's and J. M. Hawes', and totaled nearly 5,000 troops. On April 28 it was marched from Alexandria to Little River, where it was embarked on transports and arrived twenty-five miles below Vicksburg on the 31st. On May 3 Richmond was occupied and Taylor made his headquarters there. Milliken's Bend and Young's Point were both on the Mississippi and served as depots of quantities of Federal supplies. Taylor determined to attack both these points. Richmond was twenty miles from Young's Point and ten from Milliken's Bend, and Walker was ordered to select brigades to attack both places simultaneously on May 7. Accordingly, McCulloch was ordered to attack Milliken's Bend and Hawes to attack Young's Point, while Randal's brigade was to be held in reserve.

McCulloch reached Milliken's Bend at dawn of May 7, attacked and drove the Federals within the protection of a gunboat. Randal's brigade was hastened forward to assist in the attack, but before its arrival additional gunboats forced the withdrawal of the Confederates. Meanwhile Hawes arrived at Young's Point. shortly before noon of the same day, examined the Federal position, concluded that it was too strong for his force to carry, and retired without an effort to test its strength. For this action Hawes was severely reprimanded and for a time his relief from duty seemed imminent. Confederate losses at Milliken's Bend totaled slightly over 150, while no casualties were incurred at Young's Point. 49 Results of the movement were negligible as supplies were not crossed over the river, troops were not diverted from the eastern side, nor was any victory secured. Taylor con-

⁴⁷ Pemberton to Taylor or Smith, April 17, 1863, ibid., 1044; Pemberton to Taylor or Smith, April 18, 1863, ibid., 1045.

43 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 137-138; J. P. Blessington, The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division (New York, 1875), 122.

43 Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 78-118; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 139; Taylor's Report, June 8, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 457-461; McCulloch's Report, June 8, 1863, ibid., 467-470; Hawes' Report, June 9, 1863, ibid., 471-472; Walker's Report, June 10, 1863, ibid., 462-465; E. S. Dennis' Report, June 12, 1863, ibid., 447-448.

sidered further operations opposite Vicksburg impracticable and ordered Walker's division to South Louisiana. However, Kirby Smith still believed something might be accomplished and ordered Walker's troops left opposite Vicksburg where the chief employment proved to be the destruction of plantations operated by the Federal Government.50

Taylor believed operations could more profitably be conducted opposite Port Hudson. Arriving at Alexandria on June 10, he left for South Louisiana on the following day and assumed command, replacing Mouton who had accomplished little. 51 To effect his object he prepared to swim beef cattle across the river to the garrison, to operate portions of his force on the eastern side of the river, and by vigorous action to force the withdrawal of the Federal troops investing Port Hudson. In order to accomplish this plan, he proposed to possess the section between Baton Rouge and Donaldsonville, to penetrate the Lafourche section, to prevent the navigation of the Mississippi by posting light batteries on that river, and to attack New Orleans should an opportunity present itself.52

Preparations were completed to effect the capture of Brashear City. James P. Major's cavalry, a recent arrival from Texas, was ordered to march to Donaldsonville, then down Bayou Lafourche to Thibodaux, then to the Boeuf River, gain the rear of Brashear City, and on June 23 to attack that place upon hearing the sound of Mouton's and Green's guns. On the 22nd Taylor arrived south of Bisland at Mouton's camp and prepared to attack on the following day. After nightfall Major Sherod Hunter with 300 men embarked in boats of all descriptions on the Teche. entered the Atchafalaya, and before dawn was within one mile of Brashear City. During the night Green advanced artillery opposite Brashear City and at dawn drove a Federal gunboat from the Bay. Simultaneously, Hunter and Major attacked and after a short struggle captured the town. After this success the Confederates no longer lacked a supply of war materials, as a sufficiency for the remainder of 1863 and the Red River campaign of 1864 was captured. Over 5,000 rifles with a quantity of ammunition, twelve guns, and stores valued at between two and

⁵⁰ Taylor's Report, June 11, 1863, ibid., 461-462; Walker to Taylor, July 10, 1863,

^{**}ibid., 466.

**a Taylor's Report, June 11, 1863, ibid., 461-462.

**se Smith to Taylor, June 10, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 43-44; Taylor to John L. Logan, June 15, 1863, ibid., 53; Taylor to E. Surget, July 14, 1863, ibid., 110-111.

three million dollars were captured, all of which Taylor removed to Alexandria.⁵³ Approximately 1700 prisoners were taken while a great number escaped, but next day Green captured 435 of them.54

This capture heightened Taylor's confidence that he could accomplish the relief of Port Hudson.⁵⁵ In an attempt to effect this, Green, with 800 dismounted cavalry, attacked Fort Butler at Donaldsonville on June 28 but was repulsed with the loss of over a third of his force.⁵⁶ After this reverse he established batteries above and below Donaldsonville and succeeded in effectually preventing the passage of Federal transports on the Mississippi.⁵⁷ In order to force the removal of these batteries, Weitzel came up from New Orleans with over 4,000 men. With slightly over 1,000 men, Green attacked this force near Donaldsonville and captured 300 prisoners and three pieces of artillery, with a loss to himself of less than fifty.58 Subsequently Taylor concentrated his forces below Red River. Realizing that Berwick Bay could not be permanently occupied, he established a depot of supplies at Niblett's Bluff on the Sabine River to permit a retreat into Texas;59 and, although no movement was made against him, he moved up the Teche on July 21.60

As a result of the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson many thousands of Federal troops became available for duty elsewhere. It was not known where they would be used, but fortunately for Taylor the majority were placed on duty in the Cis-Mississippi. In July, 1863, Walker's division was withdrawn from opposite Vicksburg and arrived in Alexandria on August 5.61 Work was

SE Emory's Report, June 23, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, p. 187; Taylor's Report, June 23, 1863, ibid., 210; Taylor's Report, June 24, 1863, ibid., 210-211; Hunter's Report, June 26, 1863, ibid., 223-224; Taylor's Report, June 27, 186; ibid., 211-212; Green's Report, June 30, 1863, ibid., 225-226; Frank Moore (ed.), The Rebellion Records, A Diary of American Events, 12 vols. (New York, 1863-1868), VII, Document 26, pp. 173-175, quoted from Alexandria, Louisiana Democrat, July 1, 1863; Palfrey Diary, June 24, 1863; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 140-143.

See Green's Report, June 30, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. I, pp. 225-226; Mouton's Report, July 4, 1863, ibid., 215-217.

See Taylor's Report, June 27, 1863, ibid., 211-212; Taylor's Report, July 4, 1863, ibid.

⁵⁶ Taylor's Report, June 27, 1863, ibid., 211-212; Taylor's Report, July 4, 1863, ibid., 212-214

Emory's Report, June 30, 1863, ibid., 188-190; Green's Report, July 3, 1863, ibid.,

⁵⁷ Taylor's Report, July 4, 1863, ibid., 212-214; M. B. Woolsey to D. G. Farragut, July 5, 1863, ibid., 621; F. A. Faries' Report, July 3, 1863, ibid., 220-222; Green's Report, July 14, 1863, ibid., 230-232.

⁵⁸ Taylor's Report, July 13, 1863, ibid., 214-215; Green's Report, July 14, 1863, ibid.,

Taylor's Report, July 13, 1863, ibid., 214-215; Green's Report, July 14, 1863, ibid., 230-232; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction. 145.

Taylor to Surget, July 14, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 110-111; Taylor to Magruder, July 17, 1863, ibid., 116-117.

Banks to Halleck, July 6, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 48-49; Emory to Henry W. Morris, July 8, 1863, ibid., 627-628; Halleck to Grant, July 11, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 497-498; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 145-147.

Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 150-151; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Taylor, Destruction 127-127.

Texas Division, 127-137.

rushed on fortifications at Grand Ecore, De Russy and Beauregard in an effort to complete them,62 but in addition to watching the Federal movements below Opelousas, little was done.

By September 1, 1863, the Federals had concentrated portions of their eastern armies at Berwick Bay. At first it was unknown to the Confederates whether Louisiana or Texas would be the objective of the anticipated movement, but this doubt was dissipated by the appearance of a fleet of gunboats at the mouth of Sabine Pass, preparatory to ascending that river. Several of the ships were sunk and the fleet driven off, but whether the Federals had abandoned the expedition was not clear. Accordingly, Magruder prepared depots of supplies at Niblett's Bluff, and requested Taylor to concentrate his troops in such a manner as to make them available for the defense of Texas.63 At the moment Taylor refused to do this, but he promised that if the Federals operated on the Calcasieu he would move against them, or if they committed themselves to a Texas campaign he would attempt to force their withdrawal by the adoption of a vigorous policy in his district.64 Meanwhile, Taylor planned a defense of his district in case the Federals abandoned their movement against Texas. Walker's infantry was concentrated on the lower Boeuf⁶⁵ and the force obstructing the navigation of the Mississippi was increased. Green's cavalry crossed the Atchafalaya and attacked the Federals near Morganza on Bayou Fordoche on September 29. As a result of this attack, 450 prisoners, two pieces of artillery and many small arms and miscellaneous stores fell into his hands.66

Following their unsuccessful attempt to invade Texas by entering the Sabine River, a Federal force of between 20,000 and 25,000 marched up the Teche. 67 The Confederates could not ascertain whether the advance was aimed at Louisiana or Texas. In the beginning Taylor believed that Texas was the objective, 68 but upon learning that its destination was Louisiana he requested

es Smith to Taylor, September 3, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2,

pp. 989-990.

Smith to Taylor, September 3, 1863, **Oyicial Records, Cel. 1, pp. 989-990.

**Magruder to Taylor, September 10, 1863, **ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, p. 218; Magruder to Smith, September 13, 1863, **ibid., 223-224, Magruder to Smith, September 10, 1863, **ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 304-305. Magruder pointed out that in May he had lent Taylor 5,000 troops and had gone to his assistance with an additional 3,500.

Taylor to Magruder, September 15, 1863, **Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, p. 231; Mouton to Magruder, September 22, 1863, **ibid., 246-247; Taylor to Smith, September 24, 1863, **ibid., 246-247; Taylor to Smith, September 25, 1863, **ibid., 255.

**Taylor to Smith, September 29, 1863, **ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, p. 321; Green's Report, October 2, 1863, **ibid., 329-332.

**William M. Levy to Taylor, October 8, 1863, **ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 294-295.

pp. 294-295.

Taylor to Smith, October 11, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 386-387; Taylor to Magruder, October 11, 1863, ibid., 387-388.

that Texas troops come to his aid. Accordingly, Magruder prepared to bring the disposable force of his district, consisting of 4,000 men and five batteries of artillery to Taylor's assistance.69 However, this was not necessary, as by this time the Federal movement had been abandoned.

At Nelson's bridge near New Iberia, Vincent's cavalry ambuscaded the Federal advance, driving it back with considerable loss. 70 This momentarily delayed their movement but the Confederates were soon forced to retire to Washington, north of Opelousas. Forced to retreat from that place, Taylor drew up his force of 11,000 men and offered to give battle, which challenge the Federals refused to accept. This ended the Federal advance, and on September 27 a portion of their forces withdrew to New Iberia, whither the remainder followed four days later. Learning of this withdrawal, Taylor ordered Green's cavalry and three regiments of Walker's infantry in pursuit. On October 3 the Federal rear guard was overtaken below Opelousas on Bayou Bourbeau near Grand Coteau and immediately attacked. With a loss of less than 200 men, Green inflicted a loss of over 700 upon the Federals but was unable to maintain possession of the field when Federal reinforcements came up.72 The Federals soon resumed their retreat to Brashear City. Following the withdrawal of this movement, the Federals prepared to conduct a movement into West Texas, and Magruder urged Taylor to hurry forward reinforcements or to prosecute vigorously a campaign in Louisiana to force the abandonment of the Texas expedition.78 By the latter part of November an engagement had occurred and Magruder requested reinforcements from Louisiana.74 Taylor promised that he would reinforce Magruder to the extent of 7,000 troops if it should become necessary, and following a conference with Smith he forwarded Green's cavalry and Walker's infantry to Magruder's support. 75

^{**}Smith to Magruder, October 15, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 323-324; Magruder to Taylor, October 18, 1863, ibid., 335-336; Smith to Magruder, October 26, 1863, ibid., 356; Magruder to Smith, October 29, 1863, ibid., 368-370; Magruder to Smith, November 6, 1863, ibid., 393.

**Mouton's Report October 4, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, p. 393.

**Taylor's Report, October 21, 1863, ibid., 388-389. Taylor's Report, October 22, 1863, ibid., 389-390; Taylor's Report, October 23, 1863, ibid., 390; Taylor's Report, October 25, 1863, ibid., 390-391; New Orleans Times, October 23, 1863.

**Taylor's Report, November 4, 1863, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 393-395; C. C. Washburn's Report, November 7, 1863, ibid., 356-359; Taylor's Report, November 7, 1863, ibid., 392.

**Magruder to Smith, November 21, 1863, ibid., 432; Magruder to Taylor, November 21, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 433-434.

**Magruder to Smith, November 27, 1863, ibid., 449-450.

**Smith to Magruder, December 15, 1863, ibid., 508; Taylor to Magruder, December 21, 1863, ibid., 518; Green to Taylor, December 14, 1863, in possession of Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 152.

Taylor returned to Alexandria on November 5. At that time all territory north of Opelousas was held by the Confederates and their lines were extended even below that place. Walker's infantry, together with artillery, was dispatched to a point near the mouth of Red River to prevent Federal navigation of the Mississippi, where he arrived on November 16. Transports were cut up and a squadron of gunboats sent to attack the batteries was repulsed. Meanwhile, Taylor was at Morganza with the remaining troops of his district, accomplishing the same thing.76 A movement into the Lafourche country was contemplated and a portion of Walker's forces was dispatched to attack Donaldsonville and Plaquemine. However, the proposed attack became known to the Federals and as reinforcements were hastened to the two places, nothing further was attempted by the Confederates. 77 No other military operations of importance occurred until March of 1864, with the invasion of the Ouachita and Red River valleys.

In September, 1863, the Federals moved upon the Ouachita Valley from Natchez with a force of between 10,000 and 15,000 troops, arriving on the 4th at Fort Beauregard which George W. Logan had recently evacuated. Randal's brigade was ordered to his support, but only slight skirmishing resulted and the Federals returned to Natchez without accomplishing anything of note.78 On March 1, 1864, a Federal squadron of gunboats entered the Ouachita River, shelled Trinity and then proceeded to Harrisonburg. There they destroyed Fort Beauregard which was under construction. On March 2 and 3 the gunboats were engaged by Charles Polignac's brigade and on the 4th they fell back down the river.79

The fall of Port Hudson and Vicksburg in July, 1863, prevented practically all communication with the Cis-Mississippi. In a manner this proved beneficial to the Trans-Mississippi as its resources were no longer drained for use in the East, but it was not desirable that no correspondence be maintained. A ferry was

⁷⁸Andrews to Stone, December 13, 1863, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, p. 852; Andrews to Stone, December 15, 1863, ibid., 863; McPherson to Grant, December 22, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 3, pp. 471-472; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 150-154.

78 Stone to Banks, November 22, 1863, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 813-814; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 150-154.

18 Randal's Report, September 5, 1863, Oficial Records, Ser. I, XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 279. 280; Walter Q. Gresham's Report, September 7, 1863, ibid., 276-277; Marcellus M. Crocker's Report, September 10, 1863, ibid., 273-275.

79 Taylor to Smith, March 3, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 1015; Polignac's Report, March 3, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 155-156; Polignac's Report, March 4, 1864, ibid., 157-158.

placed in operation but this was quickly captured by the Federals, which again left communication to be carried only by special messengers.80 Later Taylor established at St. Joseph a line of signals which connected with the eastern side of the Mississippi.81 He was directed to organize and place on that river a brigade to aid communication and to obstruct the navigation of the stream.82

From the beginning of the war it had been the Confederate policy to destroy all cotton that could not be removed from districts which the Federals threatened to include within their lines. Taylor had always opposed the destruction of privately owned cotton, holding that in addition to causing hardships to the population it fomented hostility to the Confederacy. However, in January, 1864, he ordered that, should a Federal invasion materialize, all cotton between the Ouachita and Mississippi rivers should be burned, but he suggested that government cotton should be sold.83 In line with this view, he allowed the introduction of army supplies into his district in exchange for government cotton, while forbidding the dealing with private individuals, but later he ordered that private cotton might be sold where invasion was imminent.84 This practice was quickly carried to excess, which forced Taylor to enforce the law strictly.85 The authority to determine whether permission should be granted for the shipment of cotton to New Orleans for the relief of Confederate prisoners and destitute Confederates was vested in him.86 Meanwhile, he ordered the Federal practice of shipping cotton at Plaquemine broken up, and the cotton seized and destroyed if it could not be exchanged for supplies.87

A major problem of this period was the exchange of prisoners. Various cartels of exchange had been placed in operation only to be superseded by others. None proved satisfactory to either contestant. As the Confederate government instructed their officers to refuse to exchange Negro prisoners, much trouble consequently resulted. In response to a request for information,

Johnston to Seddon, September 2, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 988.
 Stephen M. Routh to Stephen D. Lee, October 9, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 3, pp. 742-743; Smith to Johnston, October 29, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, p. 371.
 Smith to Taylor, October 31, 1863, ibid., 374; Smith to Taylor, November 3, 1863. 386.

^{, 380.} ss Smith to Taylor, January 4, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 818. s4 Taylor to Smith, January 11, 1864, ibid., 852-853; Taylor to Smith, January 16, 1864,

ibid., 877-878.

**S Taylor to Walker, February 3, 1864, ibid., 939-940.

**S Smith to Taylor, January 24, 1864, ibid., 911.

**Taylor to Vincent, January 16, 1864, ibid., 879-880; Taylor to Walker, January 16, 1864, ibid., 880.

Smith instructed Taylor to give no quarter to colored soldiers and their officers. Should any be captured they were to be turned over to the state authorities who should prosecute them. In this manner Federal authorities would have no grounds for retaliation.88 This method was not approved by the Richmond authorities who held that such a practice would tend to make the fighting more desperate. Instead, they suggested that the Negroes should be treated with mercy and returned to their masters.89 It was reported that a white captain and a number of Negroes captured at Milliken's Bend were hanged, but Taylor's denial of this report was accepted by Grant.90 An allegation that the officers of Negro regiments were held in close confinement also received Taylor's negation.91 The Federal practice of recruiting Negroes was held in great horror, and consequently the able-bodied male slaves were removed from districts liable to fall into Federal hands. 92 At this time, the Confederates began the use of Negroes in the auxiliary branches of the service rather than details of white men, thus increasing the number of troops available for service.93

In June, 1863, many prisoners were captured in the operations for the relief of Port Hudson. These were held as prisoners for a short time and then released on parole. In August the Federals held that these paroles violated the cartel of exchange and ordered the parolees to return to duty.94 Taylor could not understand what provision was violated and he stated that his only reason for their release was the humane one. He threatened that should the paroles not be recognized or the men returned as prisoners of war, he would order all Vicksburg and Port Hudson prisoners to report for duty immediately.95 After remaining dormant for a time the problem was again revived in the following year when Butler, then the Federal commissioner of exchange, held that Banks' attitude was wrong, 96 and accordingly the paroles

^{**}Smith to Taylor, June 13, 1863, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. VI, pp. 21-22; Smith to Taylor, June 13, 1863, ibid., 22.

**Cooper to Smith, July 13, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 115.

**Grant to Taylor, June 22, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 425-426; Taylor to Grant, June 27, 1863, ibid., 469.

**Banks to Taylor, August 18, 1863, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. VI, p. 213; Taylor to Banks, September 7, 1863, ibid., 264.

**Dana to Stanton, June 26, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 110; Smith to Taylor, September 4, 1863, ibid., 990.

**Smith to Taylor, September 5, 1863, ibid., 994-995; Smith to Taylor, September 10, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 216-218.

**Banks to Taylor, August 17, 1863, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. VI, p. 209.

**Taylor to Banks, August 23, 1863, ibid., 223-224; Taylor to Banks, September 21, 1863, ibid., 308.

**Butler to Stanton, April 9, 1864, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. VII, p. 31.

were recognized.⁹⁷ In November, 1863, Taylor directed Green to negotiate for the exchange of prisoners.⁹⁸ To this proposition the Federals quickly assented, provided no distinction was made as to the organizations involved.⁹⁹ Taylor agreed to exchange all but members of Negro organizations, but he noted that he then had none such in his possession.¹⁰⁰ This implied suggestion was adopted, no mention of Negroes was made, and on December 25, midway between New Iberia and Vermillionville (now Lafayette), a total of 532 privates or their equivalents were exchanged.¹⁰¹

Green's removal to Texas left West Louisiana with scarcely any cavalry. To supply this deficiency, Taylor requested authority to organize a cavalry regiment. He held that the lack of a mounted force prevented an adequate enforcement of the Conscription Act, 102 and that if a cavalry organization was authorized sufficient Creoles would enter the service to put a good regiment in the field. This authority was granted in March, 1864, and Louis Bush was assigned to organize and command the new regiment. 108

Taylor undertook the enforcement of a vigorous policy in regard to jayhawkers and deserters.¹⁰⁴ Polignac was instructed to disperse a body of jayhawkers between the Black and Red rivers and especially around Catahoula Lake where many had congregated.¹⁰⁵ However, in Louisiana as in the remaining portions of the Confederacy, that problem was never solved.

This was the condition of affairs in the District of West Louisiana in March, 1864. During the period which had elapsed since Taylor assumed command in August, 1862, large portions of the state had been recovered from Federal control and the people had regained confidence in their ability to maintain that authority. More than that, every objective which Taylor believed could be accomplished and which was within the power of the limited means of his district had materialized. From his initial victory at Bayou des Allemands to the repulse of the Federal movement up the

⁹⁷ Banks to Dwight, June 11, 1864, ibid., 223; Dwight to Levy, June 17, 1864, ibid., 374-375.

^{374-375.}See Franklin to Banks, November 28, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI. Pt. 1 p. 351: Green to Federal officer commanding on the Teche, November 28, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. VI, pp. 589-590.

pp. 589-590.

⁹⁰ Franklin to Taylor, November 29, 1863, *ibid.*, 602-603.

¹⁰⁰ Taylor to Franklin, November 30, 1863, *ibid.*, 606; Taylor to Franklin, December 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 641.

^{1863,} ibid., 641.

100 E. L. Molineau to Franklin, December 28, 1863, ibid., 772.

102 Taylor to Smith, February 16, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 962; Taylor to Smith, February 26, 1864, ibid., 991-992.

103 Taylor to Smith, February 2, 1864, ibid., 937; Smith to Taylor, March 3, 1864, ibid.,

Taylor to R. E. Wyche, February 4, 1864, *ibid.*, 944.
 Taylor to Polignac, February 8, 1864, *ibid.*, 951.

Ouachita, all that could be expected of any commander had been realized by him, and he confidently awaited any further Federal movements in his district.

Chapter IV

TAYLOR AND THE RED RIVER CAMPAIGN OF 1864

Late in December, 1863, the Federal generals, Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, Nathaniel P. Banks, and Rear-Admiral David D. Porter, laid definite plans for a third Red River expedition. By January, 1864, their plans had begun to assume definite form. Shreveport would be occupied by a movement of 10,000 troops from Little Rock under command of Major-General Frank Steele. The movement upon Alexandria would be undertaken by between 15,000 and 18,000 men from the Department of the Gulf who would march from Opelousas, approximately 10,000 men from Vicksburg commanded by Major-General A. J. Smith, and a squadron of gunboats under Porter's command.² Porter was to accompany Smith with a naval force composed of many of the vessels of the Mississippi squadron,3 and they were to meet Banks at Alexandria on March 17.

Taylor learned of the contemplated expedition and prepared to meet it. During the winter of 1863-1864 depots of supplies had been established from Bayou Boeuf to Pleasant Hill in the northwestern portion of the state.4 Taylor informed Kirby Smith, as early as January 16, 1864, that such a movement could be expected with the rise of water sufficient to float gunboats, and he suggested that all available forces be concentrated against one Federal column.⁵ Aid in repelling the movement was also requested from Henry Watkins Allen, recently installed as Governor of Louisiana.6 Not until the end of February did Kirby Smith attempt to provide additional troops for Taylor's support, when he ordered Holmes, then commander of the District of Arkansas, to send Taylor "one of your brigades." Taylor believed that

¹ McPherson to Grant, December 16, 1863, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 1, p. 596; Sherman to Porter, December 31, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 3, pp. 460-461.
² Sherman to Banks, January 31, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 267.
³ Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, 38 Cong, 2 Sess., 2 vols. (Washington, 1865), II, Red River Expedition, iii-xv.
⁴ Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 560-572.
⁵ Taylor to Smith, January 16, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, p. 879.
⁶ Taylor to Allen, February 1, 1864, ibid., 933-934.
⁷ Smith to Holmes, February 29, 1864, ibid., 1009.

Holmes should not be weakened at that time and preferred that Texas troops should be sent to support the Confederates in Louisiana. Taylor promised that if Magruder should be assigned to the command of troops engaged in repelling the threatened movement, all possible co-operation would be given him from the District of West Louisiana.8

Meanwhile Taylor was aware that Mobile rather than the Red River might be the objective of the concentrated Federal troops,9 and he ordered an attack on Plaguemine if this should be the case. 10 However, when information indicated that the Red River was really the objective, Green's cavalry was ordered to Louisiana from Texas where it had gone in December, 1863, 11 and Polignac was instructed to move his brigade from Trinity to Lecompte and there join the infantry commanded by Mouton. Taylor planned to attack the two Federal columns separately before they could be united at Alexandria, and he believed that if this could be successfully accomplished the expedition would be abandoned. 12 Walker and Taylor believed that Fort De Russy would fall an easy prey to a Federal attack, but it was hoped that Mouton and Polignac could join Walker in time to save the fort. 13

Not until March 13 was it known that the Federals were in motion. Because of their superiority in numbers, Scurry did not attempt to prevent A. J. Smith's troops from landing at Simsport, and he retired to support Walker.14 Walker had been ordered to retreat to Evergreen, whither Mouton's brigade would be hastened should it not prove expedient to attack the Federals.¹⁵ Fort De Russy fell under a land attack on March 14, causing a Confederate loss of ten guns and over 200 men. 16 Alexandria had been evacuated, and the Federals had occupied it on the following day. 17 Meanwhile Vincent's cavalry was below Alexandria harassing the movements of the Federal column advancing up the Teche, but it could accomplish little. These troops joined A. J. Smith's column in Alexandria on March 25 and 26.18

⁸ Taylor to Smith, March 6, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 488-489.

9 Taylor to Smith, March 5, 1864, ibid., 572-573; Taylor to Walker, February 8, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 950-951.

10 Taylor to Walker, March 8, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 574.

11 Smith to Magruder, March 5, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 1027.

12 Taylor to Walker, March 13, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 493; Taylor to Walker, March 13, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 493; Taylor to Walker to Taylor, March 13, 1864, ibid., 492.

14 Scurry to Taylor, March 13, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 1036.

15 Taylor to Walker, March 13, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 492.

16 Taylor's Report, March 15, 1864, ibid., 578-579.

17 Taylor to Smith, March 15, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 181-185; Testimony of Banks, Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition, 6-8.

While A. J. Smith was awaiting Banks' arrival, he did not remain idle. The Confederate cavalry consisted almost exclusively of Vincent's Second Louisiana regiment, which, in company with H. T. Edgar's battery of light artillery, had been watching the Federal movements north of Alexandria. On the night of March 21 both were encamped at Henderson's Hill near Cotile and were surrounded by a Federal flanking movement. Practically all members of both organizations were captured, the loss being 262 men and officers together with four guns. 19 This deprived Taylor of nearly all his cavalry and left him without any means of obtaining information of the Federal movements until Green's arrival.

One of the objectives of the Federal expedition was the seizure of cotton, and that purpose was anticipated by the Confederates. Immediately upon their arrival in Alexandria, both private and government cotton was seized.20 Before the middle of February, 1864, Taylor opposed the destruction of privately owned cotton. He held that its destruction worked hardships upon the people and alienated them from the cause. At that time he ordered its destruction where there was a possibility of its falling into Federal hands.21 However, Taylor promised the people that he would not destroy private cotton before the Federal course of action manifested itself and none was destroyed until several days after the Federals began its appropriation. When their advance left Alexandria, no cotton remained which could fall into their hands.22 For this destruction much condemnation was heaped upon Taylor's head. Porter said of him: "General Dick Taylor has left a name behind him to be execrated when the rebellion is long past."23

It was rumored that Kirby Smith made an agreement with the Federals whereby the Confederate troops would be withdrawn into Texas until they were disbanded. Further, the rumor stated, he would not permit the destruction of cotton and that he would share in the profits from its seizure.24 It is of some significance

¹⁸ A. J. Smith's Report, March 21, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 304-312; Taylor to Smith, March 22, 1864, ibid., 501.

20 H. L. Landers, "Wet Sand and Cotton—Banks' Red River Campaign", in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XIX (1936), 150-195; passim; Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition, iii-xlix, 1-401.

21 Taylor to Smith, February 16, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 971-972; Liddell to Taylor, February 18, 1864, ibid., 983-984; Taylor to Smith, February 21, 1864, ibid., 987-978; Taylor to Smith, February 23, 1864, ibid., 982-983.

22 Testimony of Wellington W. Withenbury, Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition, 285-286. Withenbury was a steamboat man who accompanied A. J. Smith's command.

command.

23 Porter to Gideon Welles, ibid., 236; Moore, The Rebellion Records, VIII, Document 131, p. 520.

New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 23, 1864.

that in later life Kirby Smith believed the rumor serious enough to attempt its refutation in what he termed "The Defense of the Red River." He disproved the charge that Taylor purposely brought on the engagement at Mansfield to prevent this; he showed that he had ordered the burning of cotton before the Federal advance; and he attempted to prove that it was impossible for him to have been a party to such an agreement.25

While the Federals were thus occupied at Alexandria, Taylor hurriedly sought reinforcements.26 At the commencement of the campaign, Kirby Smith ordered to Taylor's support all available troops in Texas, but none had arrived at that time. Infantry from Arkansas arrived in Shreveport on March 24, and Taylor was promised that they would join him by the 25th, but as their ammunition arrived only on the 30th this was not accomplished. Upon its arrival, Kirby Smith ordered that they should remain in Shreveport and their disposition be governed by the Federal movements.27 On April 3 they were sent to Keachie to await Taylor's orders.28 No reinforcements reached Taylor until March 30 and 31, when the Fifth and Seventh Texas Cavalry arrived at Natchitoches, totaling slightly over 500 men.29

Taylor deferred a general engagement as he expected the arrival of additional reinforcements. He wrote Kirby Smith that if he had anticipated the delay in their arrival he would already have fought a battle even though against overwhelming odds. 30 Correspondence shows that Taylor wished to fight on the spot or even to assume the offensive. He considered an immediate attack necessary to prevent the destruction of additional property. Should Banks' army not be defeated, he believed that Steele would sweep Holmes before him and, therefore, it was imperative that Banks be defeated.31 Kirby Smith and Taylor possessed divergent characteristics. Cautious by nature, the former opposed a battle and favored a fabian campaign, while the latter was willing to fight against odds. While remaining in Shreveport Kirby Smith advised Taylor that he would come to the front

^{**}Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (eds.), Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), IV, 369-374.

**Smith to Magruder, March 12, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 494; Smith to Taylor, March 13, 1864, ibid., 493-494.

**Smith to Taylor, March 29, 1864, ibid., 513; Smith to Taylor, April 1, 1864, ibid., 513; Smith to Ta

²⁸ Taylor to Smith, April 3, 1864, ibid., 519-520.

^{**}Taylor to Smith, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572.

**Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572.

**Taylor to Smith, March 31, 1864, ibid., 515.

**Taylor to Smith, April 3, 1864, ibid., 519-520; Taylor to Smith, April 4, 1864, ibid., 522-523.

upon a general Federal advance.32 On April 7 Taylor determined to fight the next day unless positively prohibited by Kirby Smith whom he informed of his plan.33 Thus Taylor chose to give battle on a day which had been set aside by Jefferson Davis as one of humiliation, fasting and prayer.34

From March 22 to 29, Taylor was at Carroll Jones', a forage depot twenty-six miles below Natchitoches. On the latter day he fell back toward Natchitoches before the Federal advance, reached that town on the 30th, and remained there until the 31st when it was occupied by the Federals. Then the Confederates retired to Pleasant Hill,35 where they were joined by Green36 who had repulsed an attempt to prevent his command from reaching Taylor. On April 3 Taylor retreated to Mansfield.37 The Federals remained at Natchitoches and Grand Ecore until April 5, and then moved toward Pleasant Hill. The boats able to ascend the shoals at Grand Ecore were accompanied by 2,500 men of A. J. Smith's command. This fleet was to effect a junction with the army at Springfield Landing, about forty miles north of Grand Ecore. 38 The main body of the Federals arrived at Pleasant Hill on April 7.39 That afternoon a cavalry engagement was fought at Wilson's Farm between Pleasant Hill and Mansfield. Both sides claimed a victory, but upon the arrival of additional Federal troops the Confederates were forced to retreat. At dark both contestants were drawn up for battle at Carroll's Mill, but no fighting occurred. 40 On the morning of April 8 the Federals still advanced steadily toward Mansfield.

On the morning of April 8 Taylor ordered the troops under Mosby M. Parsons and Thomas J. Churchill, then at Keachie, to march to Mansfield, but they did not arrive in time to participate in the battle of that day. The Federals had arrived in Alexandria with approximately 27,000 troops, but 3,000 of A. J. Smith's command remained in Alexandria to protect the base of supplies and maintain the line of communication. As a result, approximately 21,000 men reached Natchitoches and Grand Ecore. From

²² Smith to Taylor, April 3, 1864, ibid., 521-522; Smith to Taylor, April 8, 1864, ibid., 528.

Taylor to Smith, April 7, 1864, ibid., 526.

<sup>Taylor to Smith, April 7, 1864, 1bid., 526.
New Orleans Times, April 1, 1864.
Banks' Report, April 13, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 181-185;
Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572.
Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572.
Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 520-521.
Banks' Report, April 13, 1864, ibid., 181-185.
Taylor's Report, April 13, 1864, ibid., 181-185.</sup>

⁴⁰ Taylor to Smith, April 8, 1864, ibid., 526; Banks' Report, April 13, 1864, ibid., 181-185.

there 2.500 men were sent with the Federal fleet for its protection, which reduced the available force of the Federals at Mansfield to between 18,000 and 19,000 men.41 In contrast, the Confederates had a force of only between 8,000 and 9,000.42

The disposition of the Federal troops heightened Taylor's confidence of victory.43 The advance guard was composed of cavalry numbering around 5,000. It was covered by a small infantry force, but was handicapped with artillery and a large wagon train. As the road over which it traveled did not permit the passage of two wagons abreast, a caravan of over a mile in length resulted. To the rear of this group marched Banks' infantry and still farther back the infantry of A. J. Smith, who had not yet reached Pleasant Hill when the battle of Mansfield was in progress.44

The night of April 7 Taylor determined to give battle on the following day and ordered the concentration of the infantry divisions of Walker and Mouton at the crossroads three miles below Mansfield.45 On the morning of the 8th Taylor made disposition of his troops for the battle. Walker's infantry was placed to the right of the Mansfield road; Hamilton P. Bee's cavalry, a portion of Green's command, was stationed on Walker's right; Mouton's infantry was assigned to the left of the road, and Major's cavalry was dismounted and placed on Mouton's left, with DeBray's cavalry held in reserve. The nature of the battlefield prevented the use of much artillery, but two batteries were placed with Walker's division and two with Mouton's troops. 46 Severe skirmishing progressed all forenoon and early in the afternoon it appeared that the Federals were attempting to turn the Confederate left. To meet this movement Taylor shifted cavalry to reinforce Major's dismounted cavalry, and a brigade of Walker's infantry to reinforce Mouton. The Federals soon developed their position. Brigadier-General Thomas E. G. Ransom's command formed the center of their line, a brigade of the 13th corps with Captain Ormand F. Nim's battery was on their left, and Colonel William J. Landrum with parts of two brigades and two

⁴¹ Testimony of Banks, Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition, 6-8.
42 Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572; Hubbard's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 436-438; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 162.
43 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 162.
44 Testimony of A. L. Lee, Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition,

<sup>57-66.

46</sup> Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 560-572. It was from this that the Federals obtained the name which they were to apply to the battle fought there, namely, "Sabine Cross-Roads".

46 Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560 572.

batteries was on their right. A. L. Lee's cavalry supported the left and protected the flanks, while a brigade protected the wagon train in the rear.

About four o'clock in the afternoon Taylor ordered Mouton's division, consisting of his own and Polignac's brigade, to charge the Federal line. The division charged across a field 1,000 yards wide. Six loads of grape and canister were fired by the Federals from the time the Confederates began the charge to the time the guns were reached, and Mouton was killed. As most of the artillery horses were killed by the Confederate fire, it was impossible for the Federals to remove their guns. Meanwhile, Green, with Major's division which consisted of his own and Bagby's brigades, the remainder of Vincent's cavalry, and a regiment withdrawn from the right, attacked to the left of Mouton and succeeded in turning the Federal right. When this attack was developed, Walker moved into action on the right. Bee's cavalry, on Walker's right, was directed to attack the Federal rear simultaneously as Walker turned their left. Bee failed to accomplish his purpose, but Walker drove the Federals before him. Their line would break and form again, only to be swept away once more. In the general confusion, the wagon train blocked the roadway and it was impossible for the Federals to remove their artillery and train, which consequently were captured by the Confederates.

The vanquished Federals were driven for four or five miles until they reached a ridge called Pleasant Grove. Here Emory, with a division of the 19th army corps, formed a line of battle. He allowed the routed Federals to pass through his lines and reform in the rear as he met the pursuing Confederates. Immediately the Confederates attacked and were repulsed on their first charge, but as night fell they were once more steadily advancing.⁴⁷

Immediately following the close of the fighting, Kirby Smith was informed of its results and notified that upon the arrival of Churchill's and Parsons' infantry the Federals would be vigorously pursued. Taylor requested further reinforcements sent from Shreveport if possible. After issuing orders to Walker and Green concerning their movements of the next day, Taylor went

⁴⁷ Banks' Report, April 13, 1864, ibid., 181-185; Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572; Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., 194-218; New Orleans Era account from Moore, The Rebellion Records, VIII, Documents 554-557; Daily True Delta, April 16, 1864; Baton Rouge Weekly Gasette and Comet, April 23, 1864; Houston Telegraph, quoted in New Orleans Times, April 30, May 4, 1864; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 163-166.

48 Taylor to Smith, April 8, 1864, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 527.

to Mansfield where Churchill's and Parsons' troops had arrived. The two brigades were put in motion for Pleasant Grove at two A.M., and when Taylor returned there at three-thirty A.M. he found that the Federals had retreated toward Pleasant Hill.⁴⁹ On the morning of April 9 the Confederates advanced toward Pleasant Hill, the cavalry in the lead, followed by infantry under Churchill, Parsons, Walker and Polignac, who now commanded Mouton's old division. Upon their arrival at Pleasant Hill, the cavalry found the Federals drawn up in a strong position, and after reconnoitering their forces they awaited the arrival of the infantry, which came up at noon. They were then allowed to rest for two hours before an attack was made.

During the day the Federals had occupied a sloping elevation. The town was on the ridge while on all sides of the plateau were many woodlands. As the Federals occupied a defensive position, the burden of the attack fell on the Confederates. By three o'clock Taylor formed his plan of battle; he ordered the troops under Churchill and Parsons with artillery to outflank the Federal right and meet Walker who was to attack the left of the line. As soon as this flanking movement was executed, cavalry was to fall upon the Federal line of retreat. On the right, Walker was to attack when he heard Churchill's guns. On Walker's left Taylor placed Bee's cavalry which was directed to charge through the town when the Federals became disordered. The cavalry brigades of Major and Bagby under the command of Green were dismounted and placed on the left of the Mansfield-Pleasant Hill road. As Polignac's infantry had suffered the most severely in the battle of the preceding day, it was held in reserve. Thus Taylor's plan was to turn the Federals on both flanks and subject them to an overwhelming fire. To accomplish this, Taylor had a force of approximately 12,500; the Federals numbered over 15,000 and occupied a superior position.

About four-thirty P.M. the artillery commanded by Major J. L. Brent opened fire in an attempt to divert attention from Churchill's attack. This fire silenced the Federal guns and forced their removal simultaneously with Churchill's and Parsons' opening attack on the right and Walker's on the left. Upon hearing the confusion incident to this attack, Green ordered Bee's charge through Pleasant Hill but it was severely repulsed. While this

⁴⁹ Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572.

occurred Walker began his flanking movement, and after it advanced slowly Polignac's brigade was hurried to its assistance. Following Churchill's initial charge it seemed as though the Confederates had won the battle until they were outflanked and thrown into confusion. The first charge netted 300 prisoners, but 179 men and three guns were lost to the Federals when the Confederates were outflanked. Near the end of the fight Polignac attacked on Randal's left and Green's cavalry cleared the woods from Mansfield to the Blair's Landing road. In spite of increasing darkness, Polignac, Randal, Waul and Scurry were driving the Federals before them. However, a portion of these commands became separated from the remainder and a cry arose that they were shooting each other. This belief coupled with the darkness brought the conflict to a close and ended the bitter struggle. The main body of Confederates withdrew six miles from Pleasant Hill in order to obtain water and forage, but Taylor in company with some cavalry spent the night near the battlefield. During the night the Federals retreated to Grand Ecore and the next morning Bee's cavalry was sent in pursuit.50

In these two battles Taylor was always in the thick of the fighting on the front line. His officers attempted to dissuade him from exposing himself, but he stated it was necessary that he do so as many of his troops were untried and had to be encouraged. At Mansfield his saddle cloth was shot through by a bullet.⁵¹

The battle of Mansfield, or as it was termed by the Federals. Sabine Cross-Roads, was undoubtedly a Confederate victory. Driven from the field of battle, the Federals lost their train of 150 wagons, 800 mules, 18 pieces of artillery, thousands of small arms, and approximately 2,000 prisoners. If it had been possible for the Federals to maintain the field at Pleasant Hill the night following the battle, it would clearly have been their victory. As it was impossible for either army to remain on the battlefield due to the scarcity of water, it seems that a slight edge was gained by the Federals. The Confederates lost three guns and 426 prisoners, 52 but complete casualty statistics are not available for either

⁵⁰ Banks' Report, April 13, 1864, ibid., 181-185; Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572; Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., 194-218; New Orleans Era account from Moore, The Rebellion Records, VIII, Documents 554-557; Daily True Delta, April 16, 1864; Weekly Gazette and Comet, April 23, 1864; Houston Telegraph, quoted in New Orleans Times, May 4, 1864; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 166-173.

Si New Orleans Times, April 30, May 4, 1864, quoted from Houston Telegraph; Daily True Delta, April 21, 1864.

True Delta, April 21, 1864.

True Delta, Report, April 18, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 560-572; Banks' Report, April 13, 1864, ibid., 181-185; Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., 194-218; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 169.

The Confederates estimated their casualties for the two battles at about 2,50053 and maintained that the Federal loss was close to 10,000 which naturally was an exaggeration. Banks placed his casualties for the entire campaign at 3.980.54

Prior to the battle of Mansfield, Liddell with a small brigade of cavalry and four guns was stationed to operate against approximately thirty gunboats and transports ascending the Red River to Springfield Landing. These boats experienced great difficulty in navigating the river and in addition were harassed by Liddell. Upon learning of the Federal retreat to Grand Ecore, the boats began making their way back to the same place. Taylor learned of this, and on April 10 ordered Bagby's cavalry to cross Bayou Pierre and interrupt their return. It was necessary to ferry across this bayou, which consumed much time, and consequently Red River was not reached until after the Federal fleet had passed down. Bagby then proceeded to Blair's Landing where he arrived after Green had engaged the Federals. Here Green had fought the fleet for two hours and had lost his life. The fight was then abandoned by the Confederates and the Federal fleet returned to Grand Ecore.55

The night after the battle at Pleasant Hill, Kirby Smith arrived from Shreveport and consulted with Taylor as to the disposition of the troops. He wished to take the infantry to Arkansas to drive Steele from the southern part of that state, but Taylor opposed this plan, pointing out that Steele was dependent upon Banks' movements and consequently would retreat. Taylor wished to pursue Banks with all available troops and push him out of the Red River Valley. Upon Kirby Smith's insistence, however, Taylor agreed that the main body of his infantry should be sent under his command to Arkansas. The cavalry was to remain to harass Banks, and it was understood that as soon as Steele was met the infantry would be returned for further operations in West Louisiana. On April 14 Taylor set out for Shreveport with the infantry divisions of Walker, Churchill and Parsons, leaving Polignac, who was to command in Taylor's absence, to assist the cavalry in operating against the Federals. When Taylor arrived in Shreveport, he was informed that he was to command

⁶³ Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 560-572.
⁶⁴ Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., 194-218.
⁶⁵ Banks' Report, April 13, 1864, ibid., 181-185; Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572; Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., 194-218.

operations in that vicinity and that Kirby Smith was to conduct those in Arkansas. After learning this, Taylor returned to his troops near Natchitoches where he resumed command on April 19.56

For some time after the battle of Pleasant Hill, the Federals remained at Grand Ecore under the shelter of the fortifications and the protection of their gunboats. Eventually they decided to retreat to Alexandria, with the fleet preceding the land force. However, the largest gunboat, the Eastport, was grounded and sunk eight miles below Natchitoches on April 15. With the aid of pumps, it was raised and started for Alexandria in company with the remaining gunboats and transports on April 21.57

Monett's Ferry was the only place on the Alexandria road that the Federal train could be crossed over Cane River, and therefore its possession was of much importance to both contestants. On April 21 Taylor ordered Bee to hold this ferry. That night Banks evacuated Grand Ecore and marched for the ferry in an attempt to arrive there without the knowledge of the Confederates. Major-General John A. Wharton, who had recently been assigned to command Green's cavalry, attacked the Federal rear at Cloutierville but accomplished little. The Federals reached the ferry on April 23 and prepared to attack Bee who was on the opposite side with 2,000 cavalry. The stream was forded above and below the ferry, and Bee was attacked and forced to retire after a struggle of some minutes. His loss was slight but he inflicted a total of over 200 casualties upon the Federals. The train was then crossed over and the Federal march to Alexandria resumed.58

Taylor severely criticized Bee for his failure to hold Monett's Ferry. He charged Bee with negligence for sending one of his brigades to guard his train, the safety of which had been already provided for; for failing to strengthen his position; for massing his troops toward the center rather than the flanks; and, finally, for retreating when forced to retire, when he should have fallen

Taylor's Report, April 18, 1864, ibid., 560-572; Smith to Taylor, April 23, 1864, ibid., 535; Taylor to Smith, April 25, 1864, ibid., 582-583; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 179-180.

Struction, 19-180.

Struction, 19-180.

Struction, 19-180.

Struction, 245-250; Banks' Report, April 30, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 189-192.

Struction, 245-250; Banks' Report, April 30, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 189-192.

Struction, 19-180.

Struction, 245-250; Banks' Report, April 30, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 580-581; Banks' Report, April 30, 1864, ibid., 189-191; Bee's Report, May 14, 1864, ibid., 610-612.

upon the Federal train while it was on its way to Alexandria through the pine barrens.59

On April 24 the Federals took up their march for Alexandria and arrived there on the 25th and 26th. Meanwhile, their fleet was having a more difficult time. All the larger boats, with the exception of the Eastport and six light vessels, were sent to Alexandria on April 20. On the first day the Eastport made twenty miles, and on the succeeding six days it grounded six times. As the Confederates prepared to attack it was blown up at Deloach's Bluff near Montgomery on April 26 to prevent its capture. 60 On the same day a gunboat and transport were attacked at the junction of Cane and Red rivers. The transport's boilers exploded and the escaping steam scalded and killed over a hundred men. A pump boat, which had been used to raise the Eastport, was burned. The remaining Federal boats were cut up but managed to escape and made their way to Alexandria.61

Following the battle of Pleasant Hill, Taylor sent Vincent's cavalry to threaten Alexandria and to clear the Teche country of jayhawkers and Federals. He burned the railway bridges east of Berwick Bay and then returned to Marksville and Simsport. Taylor's plan was to bottle up the Federals within their fortifications at Alexandria, to maintain a constant fight with the gunboats so as to prevent their navigation of Red River, and to prevent reinforcements and supplies from arriving to aid them. A number of Federal troops did arrive on April 27, and Taylor determined that no more should reach Banks. To accomplish this he pushed cavalry and artillery toward the mouth of the Red, 62 cutting off river communication for more than two weeks. Bagby, commanding Bee's old brigade, and Major were ordered below Alexandria to Wilson's Landing on May 1 to prevent the passage of boats. 63 The steamer Champion No. 3 was captured and burned on April 26, the next day Champion No. 5 was

Taylor to Smith, April 24, 1864, ibid., 580-581; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruc-

Taylor to Smith, April 27, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 583-584.

Taylor's Report, April 27, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 583-584.

Taylor's Report, April 28, 1864, Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition, 245-250.

Taylor's Report, April 28, 1864, Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition, 245-250; Taylor's Report, April 27, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 583-584.

^{**} Taylor's Report, May 10, 1864, ibid., 589-591; George W. Baylor's Report, May 18, 1864, ibid., 616-625.

captured and sunk,64 and the transport Emma was captured and burned in May. While coming up the river with the 120th Ohio regiment on board, the transport City Belle was captured by Major on May 3. Many on board were killed, a few escaped, and nearly 300 were captured. 65 The transport John Warren and the gunboats Signal No. 8 and Covington were attacked while on their way toward Alexandria on May 5. The transport surrendered, the Covington caught fire and was burned, and the Signal No. 8 was captured. In an attempt to obstruct the future navigation of the river the boats were sunk.66 It was not until the Federals left Alexandria and marched southward that communication was re-established upon Red River.

The Federals established lines of defense around Alexandria on April 25 and 26, and Taylor massed his troops to keep them within these lines. On April 26 Bagby and Parsons drove the Federals into Alexandria from the Bayou Rapides road. 67 On May 1 the Federals commenced building a dam to raise the water level over the rapids, so as to permit the passage of nine gunboats and one transport then unable to pass down because of the low stage of the water.68 Taylor disposed of his forces in such a way as to hinder the construction of the dam. Although Banks believed Taylor had over 25,000 men, 60 actually he had only about a quarter of that number.

Liddell's brigade of cavalry had been occupied on the Pineville side of the river in hindering the construction of the dam. The Federals surprised him on May 1, but failed in an effort to effect his capture and were themselves driven in. 70 The following three days of fighting centered on Bayou Robert where the Federals were forced within their fortifications. Federal infantry numbering between 3,000 and 4,000 attacked the Confederates on the Bayou Rapides road on May 5. After compelling the Confederates to retreat for five miles the Federals relinquished their

⁴ William Maitland's Report, June 25, 1864, Report on the Conduct of the War. II. Red.

^{**}William Maitland's Report, June 25, 1804, Report on the Conduct of the War, 11, Red River Expedition, 269-270.

**Daily True Delta, May 17, 1864; New Orleans Times, May 18, 1864; Baylor's Report, May 18, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 616-625; Taylor's Report, May 5, 1865, ibid., 587.

**Daily True Delta, May 17, 1864; Baylor's Report, May 18, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 616-625.

**Taylor's Report, April 27, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 582-584

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^{**}Taylor's Report, May 4, 1864, ibid., 586; Taylor's Report, May 5, 1864, ibid., 587; Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., 194-218.

**Taylor's Report, May 10, 1864, ibid., 589-591; Banks' Report, April 30, 1864, ibid., 189-192

⁷⁰ Taylor's Report, May 2, 1864, ibid., 585-586.

pursuit and retired to Alexandria. On May 7 and 8 the scene of the fighting again shifted to Bayou Robert and Bayou Boeuf,71 following which Taylor massed his troops below Alexandria.72 Two vessels came over the dam on May 8, but before the remainder could do so the dam gave way and it was not until the 12th that the damage was repaired and the remaining boats brought over the rapids.73

Taylor prepared for the Federal advance which he knew was imminent. The Federals evacuated and burned Alexandria on May 14. Taylor immediately concentrated his troops and harassed their movements, hoping to force them to destroy much of their property.74 A vigorous artillery engagement occurred at Mansura on May 17, where Wharton's cavalry occupied a position which covered three roads, but after a sharp fight he was forced to retire. At Yellow Bayou, on the succeeding day, an engagement occurred in which many Confederates were captured. Taylor reported his loss as 500 killed, wounded and missing, while Banks announced the capture of 180 prisoners. On May 20 and 21 the Federals crossed the Atchafalaya River and military operations ceased.75 In this manner ended a campaign that revived the hopes of the Confederacy, which had grown dim in the light of the military reverses in the East.

This campaign plainly brought out the military skill of Richard Taylor. A congressional investigation in 186576 revealed that the Federals committed numerous errors, but these do not detract from the able manner in which Taylor grasped opportunities which presented themselves. For this he gained a promotion in rank. Prior to leaving for Arkansas, Kirby Smith requested Jefferson Davis to raise Taylor to the rank of lieutenant-general. He held that should it become necessary for the command to devolve upon one of the district commanders, Taylor was the only one qualified to command, and furthermore he was justly entitled to the promotion. 77 Whether Kirby Smith's recommendation was the sole reason is doubtful, but on May 16, 1864, the

Taylor's Report, May 6, 1864, ibid., 587-588.

Taylor's Report, May 7, 1864, ibid., 588-589; Taylor's Report, May 8, 1864, ibid., 589.

Ranks' Report, May 21, 1864, ibid., 193; Banks' Report, April 6, 1865, ibid., 194-218.

Taylor's Report, May 14, 1864, ibid., 591-592.

Taylor's Report, May 18, 1864, ibid., 593-594; Taylor's Report, May 19, 1864, ibid., 594-595; Banks' Report, May 21, 1864, ibid., 193; Banks' Report, May 24, 1864, Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition, 397-398.

Report on the Conduct of the War, II, Red River Expedition, iii-xlix, 1-401.

Smith to Davis, April 16, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 476; Smith to Davis, June 12, 1864, ibid., 535.

Confederate Congress promoted Taylor to that rank, effective from April 8, 1864.78

In spite of Kirby Smith's recommendation for Taylor's promotion, animosities antedating the Red River campaign continued unabated. Soon after Kirby Smith came to the Trans-Mississippi Department, it was rumored in Alexandria that relations between the two generals were not very amicable, and Smith called upon Taylor to correct wrong impressions. 79 In November, 1863, Smith requested from Taylor an explanation of attacks upon Smith then being published in an Alexandria newspaper.80 In the period of uncertainty which prevailed, many complaints were sent to Smith. Taylor requested that those against him or his command be directed to be sent to Alexandria, as any accepted at departmental headquarters carried the implication that an investigation was necessary.81 About this time the two disagreed upon the construction of the fortifications at Fort De Russy. Rather than intrust their management in Taylor's hands, Smith placed them in charge of the chief engineer of the department, Henry T. Douglas.82 A few days later Taylor charged Smith with inconsistency in his policy of dealing with deserters and held it unwise to grant authority to a subordinate without notification through district headquarters.83 Late in February, 1864, Taylor applied to be relieved from duty in the Trans-Mississippi Department. 4 but apparently his request was not considered and he continued as commander of the District of West Louisiana.

Prior to the battle of Mansfield, Taylor did not believe reinforcements were hastened to his support as quickly as might have been the case. As a result of correspondence with Duncan F. Kenner, a Louisiana Congressman, Taylor charged Kirby Smith with interpreting his communications as meaning that he desired no reinforcements. Further, he declared that it was not his policy to clamor for additional troops which would involve the abandonment of the remainder of the Trans-Mississippi Department, and he expressed regret that Smith felt so little anxiety

⁷⁸ Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 7 vols. (Washington, 1904-1905), IV, 49.

79 Smith to Taylor, June 3, 1863, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 29-30.

80 Smith to Taylor, November 8, 1863, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 394-395.

81 Taylor to Smith, January 30, 1864, ibid., 929.

82 Boyd to Taylor, January 17, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 892-893; Taylor to Smith, January 19, 1864, ibid., 883; Taylor to Smith, January 20, 1864, ibid., 898-899.

83 Taylor to Smith, January 21, 1864, ibid., 901-902.

84 Taylor to Cooper, February 28, 1864, ibid., 1002.

to strengthen his forces. 85 Replying, Smith stated that the tone of Taylor's letter was disrespectful and improper.86 To this Taylor replied that Kenner had informed him that Smith's attention had been called to the need of reinforcements and Smith had answered that Taylor had written that he needed none. Further, he would be the first commander possessing intelligence who refused additional troops when retreating before a superior force.87

After the battle of Mansfield, Taylor criticized Kirby Smith for the omission of Taylor's name in the congratulatory order issued on the battles of April 8 and 9 and remarked: "This is the only instance within my recollection in which the officer commanding an army was entirely ignored in an order of the kind."88 After the receipt of this letter, Smith issued an order congratulating Taylor and his army upon their success at Cloutierville and for forcing the Federals within their intrenchments at Alexandria. Of Taylor he said: "No meed of praise is too great for that gallant little army and its skillful and energetic chief."89 Following the Federal removal from Grand Ecore, Taylor in his communications with Smith constantly reminded him of the injustices in his department, his refusal to co-operate, and his failure to follow Banks, which, Taylor thought, would have meant his capture or destruction.90

In three spirited letters Taylor criticized Kirby Smith's management of affairs in the Trans-Mississippi Department. In the first, he condemned the abandonment of the pursuit of Banks for that of Steele who was then in retreat. Further, he stated that had his policy in following Banks been adopted, credit for the ensuing victories would have devolved upon Kirby Smith, as had been the case at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill, and blame for any unsuccessful operations would have fallen upon Taylor. After asking to be relieved from command, he stated that the events of the past weeks had filled him with discouragement.91 Replying, Kirby Smith charged that Taylor had agreed to the Arkansas movement and had selected the troops to be detached from his command. He also reaffirmed his belief that the successful termina-

^{**} Taylor to Smith, March 28, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 512-513.

** Smith to Taylor, March 31, 1864, ibid., 517.

** Taylor to Smith, April 3, 1864, ibid., 519.

** Smith, General Orders No. 18, April 19, 1864, ibid., 549; Taylor to Smith, April 27, 1864, ibid., 583-584.

** Smith to Soldiers of the Trans-Mississippi Department, May 3, 1864, ibid., 549.

** Taylor's Report, April 25, 1864, ibid., 582-583; Taylor's Report, April 27, 1864, ibid., 583-584; Taylor's Report, May 23, 1864, ibid., 595; Taylor's Report, May 14, 1864, ibid., 592; Taylor's Report, May 19, 1864, ibid., 594-595.

** Taylor to Smith, April 28, 1864, ibid., 541-543.

tion of the Red River campaign was determined by the battle of Jenkins' Ferry in Arkansas.92

In a second letter, dated May 24, Taylor termed the battle of Jenkins' Ferry a mismanaged failure. Methods employed in the Trans-Mississippi Department, the failure to supply the army with necessary supplies, the so-called bureaucracy in Shreveport, the enforcement of the conscript laws, the formation of new organizations for recruits, the lack of horses, and the failure of payment of the troops were all condemned by Taylor. He also repeated his request for relief from duty in the Trans-Mississippi Department.93 Smith replied on June 5 and denied or attempted to explain Taylor's charges. 4 In his last letter, Taylor repeated his request to be relieved from duty. He denied Smith's allegations that he had favored the movement into Arkansas and asserted that he assented to it only upon Smith's insistent demands, and he criticized Smith's assumption of command of the troops diverted to Arkansas.95

On June 10, 1864, Taylor was relieved from command of the District of West Louisiana and ordered to "proceed to Natchitoches, La., and there await the pleasure of the President of the Confederate States."96 He arrived there on June 18, coming from the Atchafalaya River.97 The same day on which he was relieved from duty the Confederate Congress voted to tender thanks to "Major-Gen. Richard Taylor and the officers and men of his command for the brilliant successes obtained by them over the enemy in Louisiana during the past year and particularly for the victories at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill on the 8th and 9th of April last, and their subsequent operations against the retreating army of the Federal General Banks in the valley of the Red River."98

Taylor's relief from duty provoked much criticism and efforts were made to relieve Smith from command. Judge Barthes Egan of Mt. Lebanon, Louisiana, in a letter to Thomas O. Moore, who had but recently left the Governor's chair, said: "Our people here are greatly chagrined at the loss of General Taylor's services . . . we cannot get a general who loves Louisiana more ardently or

²² Smith to Taylor, May 26, 1864, ibid., 545-546.
23 Taylor to Smith, May 24, 1864, ibid., 543-545.
24 Smith to Taylor, June 5, 1864, ibid., 538-540.
25 Taylor to Smith, June 5, 1864, ibid., 546-548.
26 Special Orders No. 145, Smith to Taylor, June 10. 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 4, p. 664.
26 Taylor to Smith, June 8, 1864, ibid., 653-654.
27 Taylor to Smith, June 8, 1864, ibid., 653-654.
28 Resolution of Confederate Congress, June 10, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 507

who could better use for her defense all the resources at his command."99 A few days before, M. C. Manning of Alexandria wrote Braxton Bragg and asked that Taylor be retained in Louisiana and Kirby Smith relieved. He stated: "The people of this state cling to Taylor as the very sheet anchor of their salvation."100 Taylor himself wrote Bragg that he wished it were possible for the command of the Trans-Mississippi Department to be placed in Bragg's hands and declared it would be lost under its present management.¹⁰¹ Discussing the Red River campaign and the quarrel between Kirby Smith and Taylor, Lieutenant Edward Cunningham¹⁰² supported the former and declared his policies were the only ones which should have been followed. 103

Taylor was not the only district commander in the Trans-Mississippi Department who was relieved from duty in 1864. Holmes, commander in Arkansas, was relieved from duty in March. 104 On August 4 Magruder was transferred from Texas to the District of Arkansas; Walker, Taylor's successor, was relieved from his post and assigned to command Magruder's former district; while S. B. Buckner became the commander in Louisiana.105 Thus no general who commanded at the beginning of 1864 continued in service until the end of the year, Taylor and Holmes being relieved and Magruder transferred to another district. From this it would appear that Kirby Smith did not feel that his subordinates and himself could work together with the best of harmony.

Chapter V

EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

For a time following Taylor's relief from duty it was not known what suitable assignment was available for the new lieutenant-general. On June 14, 1864, Leonidas Polk, commander of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana, was killed at Marietta, Georgia, and on the 18th of the following month

Judge Barthes Egan to T. O. Moore, July 9, 1864, in Thomas Overton Moore Collection (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University).
 M. C. Manning to Braxton Bragg, July 6, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLI,

Pt. 2, pp. 992-993.

101 Taylor to Bragg, July 4, 1864, ibid., 990-991.

102 Cunningham was an aide-de-camp on Smith's staff.

103 Narrative of Cunningham, July 27, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 550-560

Special Orders No 60, March 11, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 1034.
 General Orders No. 60, August 4, 1864, ibid., Ser I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, p. 1039

Taylor was assigned to that command. Six days later Taylor was ordered to cross without delay, bringing with him the infantry of his command.² Taylor believed such a movement impracticable at the moment and requested authority to cross the Mississippi immediately, leaving the movement of the troops in charge of another officer, but Kirby Smith refused to grant the necessary permission.3 Taylor was in Harrisonburg on August 17 attempting to cross his two infantry divisions, but the next day he notified the Richmond authorities that the transfer was impracticable because of Federal discovery of his plans. Nevertheless, the attempt was made, but because of numerous desertions and the vigilance of the Federals it was postponed.4 On August 22 he was ordered to suspend the movement of troops and proceed to the opposite side of the Mississippi. He arrived at Meridian, Mississippi, the headquarters of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana, and there assumed command on September 6.6

After assuming command of his new department, Taylor stated that should proper measures be effected a movement of a large force to the eastern side of the Mississippi would be practicable.7 From the early part of October until the latter part of December, attempts were made to utilize troops in the Trans-Mississippi Department, either by their concentration in the East or by vigorous operations which would force the withdrawal of Federal troops from the Cis-Mississippi.⁸ In December, 1864, it was suggested that Bragg relieve Kirby Smith of the administrative duties in the Trans-Mississippi Department, while Taylor would assume command of operations of the troops but this suggestion gained but little support. Large portions of Taylor's department were in Federal hands or subjected to their raids.

¹ Cooper to Smith, July 18, 1864, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 117.

² Smith to Taylor, July 28, 1864, ibid., 90.

³ Taylor to Smith, July 29, 1864, ibid., 92; Smith to Taylor, July 31, 1864, ibid., 93-94; Smith to Taylor, August 7, 1864, ibid., 99-100; Smith to Taylor, August 11, 1864, ibid., 103-104; Taylor to Smith, August 19, 1864, ibid., 111-112.

⁴ Taylor to Smith, August 18, 1864, ibid., 110-111; Taylor to Smith, August 18, 1864, ibid., 111-112.

⁵ Smith to Taylor, August 22, 1864, ibid., 117
⁶ Taylor to Cooper, September 5, 1864, ibid., 816; Taylor, General Orders No. 114, September 5, 1864, ibid., 816; Taylor, Gen

^{**}Smith to Taylor, August 22, 1864, ibid., 117.

**Taylor to Cooper, September 5, 1864, ibid., 816; Taylor, General Orders No. 114, September 6, 1864, ibid., 818; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 197-198.

**Taylor to Bragg, September 6, 1864, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. LII, Pt. 2, pp. 731-732.

**Davis to Smith, September 29, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 2, p. 883; Smith to Davis, October 8, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 122; Davis to Smith, December 24, 1864, ibid., 123-124; Beauregard to Cooper, November 10, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 3, p. 908.

**George W. Brent to Beauregard, December 8, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLV, Pt. 2, p. 665. Some consideration was also given to the plan of placing W. J. Hardee as commander of Taylor's department and transferring Taylor to the command of a corps in the Army of Tennessee, but because of Davis' disapproval on the ground that such a change would involve the sacrifice of the knowledge of both individuals the move was not made.

The section along the Mississippi River was controlled by them as were also parts of East Louisiana. Footholds had been gained in northern Mississippi and Alabama and in the Gulf Coast country, and districts contiguous to these suffered greatly. In August, 1864, Mobile Bay had been captured by the Federals and, while the city was still in possession of the Confederates, it was not known when an assault might be made upon it. The eastern side of Alabama was practically free of Federal domination. However, the available force for the defense of this territory was woefully inadequate. Small garrisons were scattered at various posts, a large one was found at Mobile, and a separate body of cavalry commanded by Nathan B. Forrest operated in northern Alabama and Mississippi and assisted the Army of Tennessee.

Shortly after Taylor's arrival in his department, Forrest was ordered to Mobile to assist in repelling an expected attack. Taylor, however, did not believe the Federals contemplated an attack upon the city and he ordered Forrest to aid the Army of Tennessee by disturbing the Federal communications in middle and western Tennessee. In addition to this, he was to recruit his command from within the Federal lines and to prevent the illegal traffic in cotton.¹⁰ Forrest's command, consisting of 3,542 men and six pieces of artillery, moved from Verona, in North Mississippi, on September 16. In addition to this force, an additional 2,000 troops under Joseph Wheeler were expected, but only about 500 of these participated in the campaign. 11 On September 24 Athens, Alabama, was captured, netting 1,300 prisoners and a large quantity of stores with a loss to the Confederates of but thirty killed and wounded.12 The railroad from Decatur to Pulaski which supplied the Federal forces, and the blockhouses erected for its protection, were captured and destroyed.13 The vicinity of Memphis was reached but because of the Federal strength Forrest did not attack.14 By October 10 the largest portion of his troops had recrossed the Tennessee River, and on the same day a Federal force of 2,000 was defeated.15 This brought to a

<sup>Davis to Taylor, September 6, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 2, p. 818;
Taylor to Davis, September 7, 1864, ibid., 819; Taylor to Daniel W. Adams, September 9, 1864, ibid., 826; Taylor to Forrest, September 10, 1864, ibid., 827-828.
Forrest to Taylor, September 16, 1864, ibid., 839-840; Forrest to Taylor, September 18, 1864, ibid., 845-846; Forrest to Taylor, September 20, 1864, ibid., 859; Taylor to Forrest, September 25, 1864, ibid., 873-874.
Forrest to Taylor, September 24, 1864, ibid., 870.
Forrest to Taylor, September 27, 1864, ibid., 878.
James R. Chalmers to Taylor, October 8, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 3, p. 808.
Forrest to Taylor, October 10, 1864, ibid., 812.</sup>

¹⁵ Forrest to Taylor, October 10, 1864, ibid., 812.

close a movement which had relieved John B. Hood's army. However, Forrest failed in his objective of obtaining large quantities of supplies, as they were scarce and the people refused to accept Confederate currency. 16 Likewise, although some recruits were secured, his force was not materially increased. Over 3,000 casualties were inflicted on the Federals, while the Confederate losses were slightly in excess of 400.17

Temporarily the department headquarters were allowed to remain at Meridian. Later they were removed to Selma. Alabama. for a short period, but Taylor soon transferred it back to the former city. Before leaving the Trans-Mississippi Department, Taylor had requested that his staff be allowed to accompany him. Kirby Smith insisted that Colonel J. L. Brent and Major A. H. Mason should remain; 18 Taylor attempted to gain Brent's transfer through the Richmond authorities, but to no avail.19

After arranging the affairs at Meridian, Taylor visited Mobile, the chief city in his department, where Major-General Dabney H. Maury was stationed with approximately 8,000 men. From there he returned to Meridian and then visited Selma, Alabama, to which place he removed his headquarters.20 Hastening to Montgomery, he conferred with leading members of the Alabama legislature, and on the following day with Jefferson Davis, who had arrived to interview authorities in the western portion of the Confederacy. Taylor suggested that Beauregard be assigned to command the Army of Tennessee and promised that, should this be done, he would withdraw over 4,000 troops from Mobile to reinforce that army.21 Rather than relieve Hood, Davis created the Department of the West, thus combining the commands of Taylor and Hood,22 who commanded the Department of Georgia and Tennessee in addition to the army, and appointed Beauregard to command the new department. Except when actually present at the scene of operations, Beauregard possessed only advisory power.

 ¹⁶ Forrest to Taylor, October 12, 1864, ibid., 815-817.
 17 Taylor to Forrest, October 9, 1864, ibid., 810; Forrest to Taylor, October 12; 1864, ibid., 815-817; Forrest to Taylor, October 21, 1864, ibid., 837-838.
 18 Taylor to Smith, July 29, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 92; Smith to Taylor, August 7, 1864, ibid., 99-100; Taylor to Smith, August 8, 1864, ibid., 100-102.
 19 Taylor to Cooper, September 18, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 2, p. 844; Indorsement of Cooper, ibid., 845.
 20 Taylor, General Orders No. 116, September 20, 1864, ibid., 859.
 21 Taylor. Destruction and Reconstruction. 206.

Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 206.
 Davis to Beauregard, October 2, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 3, p. 782; Cooper to Beauregard, October 3, 1864, ibid., 832-833.

By vigorous measures Taylor undertook to raise his forces to a higher degree of efficiency. He reorganized his subdistricts, combined two Mississippi districts, and divided one in Alabama.²³ Only a few days before Taylor's arrival in the East, incomplete returns showed a force of slightly more than 11,000.24 In an attempt to increase his command, Taylor decreed that all special details be abolished and he ordered those physically fit for duty to return to their organizations and the garrisons of all unnecessary military posts to prepare for field duty.25 At the same time he permitted unutilized militia and reserves to return home.26 Taylor attempted to curb desertion²⁷ while unsuccessfully appealing for volunteers.28 By organizing the reserves and vigorously enforcing the Conscription Act over 4,000 troops were made available for service.29

The militia of Alabama rendered efficient service but that of Mississippi proved to be of little value. Charles Clark, governor of the latter state, promised Taylor that a body of over 5,000 militia would be organized, but Taylor desired that those within the conscription age be transferred to the Confederate service and the remainder serve as a home guard. However, Clark believed that if Taylor's plan was put into effect a large number of the troops would desert.30 The militia was to be called out early in February, 1865, but by the middle of that month Clark decided to wait until the Mississippi legislature met in March. 31 As a result of this delay these troops were not ready for duty until the middle of April, 32 and the last battle of the struggle had been fought by that time.

In November, 1864, with an army of between 60,000 and 70,000, Sherman evacuated Atlanta and began his famous "march to the sea". A sufficient force was not available to oppose him and Taylor was ordered to proceed to Georgia with all available troops from his department, and assume command of all Con-

²³ Taylor to George B. Hodge, September 12, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 2. p. 832; Taylor to Hodge, September 24, 1864, ibid., 871; Taylor, General Orders No. 118, September 24, 1864, ibid., 869.

24 Abstract of forces, August 31, 1864, ibid., 809.

25 Taylor, General Orders No. 120, September 24, 1864, ibid., 870; Taylor to his District Commanders, October 24, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 3, pp. 848-849.

26 Taylor to Maury, October 1, 1864, ibid., 781.

27 Taylor to Clark, October 8, 1864, ibid., 806.

28 Taylor to Clark, October 25, 1864, ibid., 852-853.

29 W. L. Brandon to Taylor, November 6, 1864, ibid., 893-894.

20 Clark to Taylor, January 28, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 1, pp. 939-940; Taylor to Clark, January 29, 1865, ibid., 941.

38 Clark to Taylor, February 14, 1865, ibid., 979; Clark to Taylor, March 5, 1865, ibid., 1029.

ibid., 1029.
 Brandon to Taylor, April 11, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, pp. 1225-1226;
 Taylor to Brandon, April 12, 1865, ibid., 1230.

federate forces operating against Sherman.33 No troops could be spared, but Taylor left Mobile on November 18,34 arrived in Columbus on the 20th, and assumed command at Macon the next day. 35 Remaining there for several days, he then traveled to Thomasville and thence to Savannah.36 where he conferred with Hardee and recommended to the Richmond authorities that all forces south of Wilmington, North Carolina, be concentrated to resist Sherman's advance.87 He attempted to bring absentees into service by the organization of ninety-day regiments,38 but the number of troops provided in this manner is unknown. After remaining for a time in Savannah, Taylor returned to his department on December 4, 1864.89

As the Army of Tennessee operated partly in northern Alabama and Mississippi, it received a large portion of its supplies from Taylor's department. Late in October, 1864, Hood was in northern Alabama and planned a movement into middle Tennessee. To facilitate this movement, Taylor repaired necessary railroads in order that Hood's communications might be secured,40 and he furnished large quantities of supplies. 41 Taylor's available force, Forrest's cavalry and troops within the District of Northern Mississippi, were ordered to aid Hood's operations.42 Early in November Forrest's troops permanently became a portion of that army.48 This left Taylor no direct participation in the affairs of that army, but his efforts to be of assistance did not cease. Some little confusion resulted because of what he considered undue interference in his department, and he inquired whether he retained command of the whole of it.44 Beauregard agreed with Taylor's views but he urged him to adopt a policy which would secure concert of action, harmony and success.45 After Hood's

Scooper to Taylor, November 17, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIV, p. 865; Beauregard to Cooper, November 18, 1864, ibid., 866; Beauregard to Brown, November 17, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIV, Pt. 1, p. 1214; Cooper to Withers, November 17, 1864, ibid., 1218.

Cobb to Wheeler, November 19, 1864, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIV, p. 872.

Hardee to Cooper, November 23, 1864, ibid., 886; Johnson and Buel, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, IV, 667.

Taylor to Wheeler, November 23, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIV, pp. 888-889.

[&]quot;Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 213-214.

"Wheeler to Bragg, December 28, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIV, pp. 998-999.

"Taylor to Bragg, December 28, 1864, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIV, pp. 998-999.

"Taylor to Bragg, December 1, 1864, ibid., 916; Taylor to Lafayette McLaws, December 4, 1864, ibid., 928.

"Parameters of the Taylor October 22, 1864, ibid. Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 3, p. 848; Taylor to Lafayette McLaws, December 1, 1864, ibid., 928.

⁴⁹ Beauregard to Taylor, October 22, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 3, p. 843; Taylor to P. D. Roddey, October 23, 1864, *ibid.*, 846-847; Beauregard to Taylor, October 23, 1864, *ibid.*, 844-845.

41 Taylor to Hood, October 23, 1864, *ibid.*, 844; Hood to Taylor, October 30, 1864, *ibid.*, 844; Hood to Taylor, October 30, 1864,

ibid., 868.

Taylor to Forrest, October 26, 1864, ibid., 853; Taylor to Forrest, October 29, 1864,

^{**}Taylor to Tollar, 1864, 866-867.

**Forrest to Taylor, November 12, 1864, **tbid., 915.

**Taylor to Beauregard, December 14, 1864, **tbid., Ser. I, Vol. XLV, Pt. 2, pp. 688-689.

**Beauregard to Taylor, December 17, 1864, **tbid., 701-702.

defeat at Franklin, Tennessee, on December 16, 1864, Taylor attempted to furnish supplies to the defeated army.46

This army was in a very demoralized condition. Many thousands of its men had been lost as prisoners, casualties in battle, and deserters, until it numbered but 15,000 infantry and an auxiliary body of cavalry. What the victorious Federals would do was unknown. Many believed that the Army of Tennessee should operate in Georgia and South Carolina against Sherman and that Johnston should be reassigned to its command. Beauregard believed a change necessary and the authority was vested in him to relieve Hood and if he thought it advisable to replace him with Taylor.47 Taylor was ordered to inspect the army and he reported that it was in need of a thorough reorganization.48 Acting upon this recommendation, the army was ordered to remain in camp temporarily.

However, the plan of transfer to South Carolina was not abandoned, and Davis inquired of Taylor whether he could hold Thomas in check with the addition of Polk's old corps to his command. Taylor replied that he had but a tenth the troops with which Hood had failed. 40 Therefore the plan was abandoned for the present and on January 17, 1865, Taylor was ordered to assume command of the entire army while retaining that of his own department,50 and five days later he assumed its command at Tupelo.⁵¹ The new assignment was a temporary expediency and Beauregard ordered all but Forrest's cavalry, Samuel G. French's division of infantry, and a small portion of artillery to South Carolina. Because of inadequate transportation facilities and extended furloughs, it was more than six weeks before their removal was completed. The force left was used to garrison the works at Mobile. After assuming command of the army in North Carolina. Johnston requested that these troops be forwarded to his support, but this was not done, as an attack upon Mobile was then expected.52

⁴⁶ Taylor to D. W. Adams, December 27, 1864, *ibid.*, 741-742.
⁴⁷ Beauregard to Davis, December 31, 1864, *ibid.*, 749; Davis to Beauregard, January 2,

^{1865,} ibid., 753.

** Taylor to Davis, January 9, 1865, ibid., 772.

** Davis to Taylor, January 12, 1865, ibid., 778-779; Taylor to Davis, January 15, 1865,

ibid., 785.
 Beauregard, Special Field Orders, January 23, 1865, ibid., 805; Beauregard to Taylor, January 17, 1865, ibid., 791.
 Taylor to Stewart, January 23, 1865, ibid., 805.
 Taylor to Stewart, January 23, 1865, ibid., Ser. I. Vol. XLVII, Pt. 2, pp. 1059-⁵² Taylor to Beauregard, January 30, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLVII, Pt. 2, pp. 1059-1060; Beauregard to Taylor, March 9, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 1, pp. 1041-1042; Davis to Lee, February 2, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLVI, Pt. 2, p. 1192.

By the fall of 1862 the Federals began recruiting Negroes as soldiers. However, the Confederacy opposed this practice and refused to recognize as prisoners any Negroes which they captured. As Confederate armies met reverses, much consideration was given to the necessity of enrolling them in the service. Many Negroes were used on the fortifications at Mobile and there petitioned Taylor to permit them to fight for the Confederacy.53 Replying to a communication from Alabama citizens who volunteered to furnish Negroes as soldiers, Taylor stated that the absence of instructions from Richmond would not prevent their enrollment were it not for the insufficient supply of arms.54

In Taylor's department as in other portions of the Confederacy there was much illegal traffic in cotton. In January, 1865, he requested permission to allow the introduction of supplies in exchange for limited quantities of privately owned cotton. This request was denied but, should the need become urgent, the government admitted that the trade would have to be tolerated. Accordingly, this was done with the permission of the governors of Alabama and Mississippi.55 Cotton was extensively used to obtain army supplies, and for the last months of the war this was the only means by which Taylor's department was supplied.56 In accordance with the Confederate policy, he was solicitous that none should fall into Federal hands and he ordered it removed or burned where such danger existed. Shortly before Mobile was invested, he ordered that over 20,000 bales deposited there be destroyed.57 The Federals reported the destruction by the Confederates of 28,000 bales of cotton at Selma and 85,000 at Montgomery.58

Early in March, 1865, negotiations for an exchange of prisoners began. Grant proposed that a general exchange should take place for all prisoners of war,59 but this plan was threatened with interruption because of the refusal of the Confederates to exchange Negroes. 60 Evidently this difficulty was adjusted as

⁵⁵ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 210.
54 Taylor to William Lyon, April 4, 1865, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2,

p. 1199 p. 1199.

Straylor to Seddon, January 11, 1865, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLV, Pt. 2, p. 777; Taylor to Clark and Watts, January 21, 1865, *ibid.*, 802; Seddon to Taylor, January 17, 1865, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. LII, Pt. 2, p. 809.

Taylor to Seddon, February 14, 1865, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 1, pp. 978-979; Taylor to John Scott, March 10, 1865, *ibid.*, 1055.

Taylor to Watts, March 12, 1865, *ibid.*, 1050; Taylor to Forrest, March 14, 1865, *ibid.*, 1050-1050-1050.

¹⁰⁵⁹⁻¹⁰⁶⁰ Report of Wilson, April 21, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, pp. 424-425.
 Taylor to Maury, March 3, 1865, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. VIII, pp. 355-356.
 Taylor to Maury, March 6, 1865, ibid., 361-362.

E. R. S. Canby, the Federal commander, later wished to effect an exchange at Vicksburg. However, Taylor desired a point farther east and the two arranged for a conference to settle upon a suitable place. The interview was not held because of the termination of hostilities.61

The city of Mobile was protected by two Confederate strongholds: Spanish Fort on the western side of the Bay and Blakeley on its eastern side. The entire defenses were under the command of Maury, who on March 10, 1865, had a total effective force of slightly over 10,000.62 It was known that a Federal movement from Pensacola to Mobile was contemplated by Canby. When this movement began, a body of cavalry under James H. Wilson, from Thomas' army, was to move from North Alabama to Selma to seize the foundry works there and destroy the supplies of the central portion of the state. This occurred after the removal of the Army of Tennessee from the northern portion of his department, and Taylor disposed of his force of approximately 12,000 troops to meet the threatened advance. Slightly more than 5,000 men were in Mobile and the remainder were scattered throughout the department,63 which had been extended to include a portion of the state of Georgia.64 Taylor planned to concentrate his forces, defeat Wilson's separate columns, prevent them from uniting, and then move to aid Maury in the defense of Mobile. The Federals moved in several columns, one from North Alabama, another from the northeastern portion of that state, and still another from Memphis.65

On March 26, 1865, Mobile was invested by a force of approximately 30,000 men under Canby's command. Although both Spanish Fort and Blakeley were invested on the same day, the siege of Blakeley was not pressed until April 1. However, adequate preparations had been made for the siege and it was thought Canby could be indefinitely occupied. 66 Spanish Fort was abandoned on April 8 when its capture seemed imminent, and the evacuation of Blakeley was planned the following day, but the Federals assaulted that place and captured it and 2,500 men. With the forts in Federal possession, Maury dismantled his bay bat-

Taylor to Canby, April 14, 1865, ibid., 490-491; Taylor to Canby, April 22, 1865, ibid.,
 Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, p. 440; Canby to Taylor, April 26, 1865, ibid., 481.
 Abstract of forces, March 10, 1865, ibid., Ser. IV, Vol. III, p. 1182.
 Beauregard to Lee, March 11, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 1, p. 1048.
 Taylor to Maury, March 3, 1865, ibid., 1024; Taylor to Daniel Adams, March 11, 1865, ibid. 1050. Beauregard to Dec, March 3, 1865, ibid., 1024; Taylor to Daniel Adams, Ma 1865, ibid., 1050.
 Taylor to Lee, March 25, 1865, ibid., Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, pp. 1160-1161.
 T. S. Bowers to Stanton, March 25, 1865, ibid., 121.

teries, mounted them as field guns and marched from Mobile to Demopolis, where he joined Taylor with three batteries.67

Likewise, the effort to defeat Wilson failed, although Taylor believed his force sufficiently strong to do so.68 The troops were concentrated at Selma, but due to a misunderstanding of orders only one brigade of Forrest's cavalry was in Wilson's path. The Confederates were defeated north of Selma on April 1, and that town with many hundreds of prisoners and vast quantities of supplies was captured on the following day.69 Taylor, who was in the city at the time, barely escaped capture, 70 and returned to Meridian. He instructed Forrest to delay the Federal movements until a sufficient force could be concentrated to insure victory.71 He undertook to place as many men in the field as possible and ordered the impressment of horses to replace those in bad condition. 72 Had Lee not surrendered at Appomattox, Taylor would have marched his force to North Carolina and joined that under Johnston, 73

Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, only a short time after Jefferson Davis had fled from Richmond. Sherman and Johnston agreed upon an armistice until instructions from Washington arrived. On April 17 Taylor was called upon to surrender upon the same terms which Grant granted to Lee.74 On April 23 Taylor notified the Federals that he desired a truce,75 and an arrangement was effected whereby Canby and Taylor would meet twelve miles from Mobile on the 29th. A cessation of hostilities which provided that either party could resume fighting after forty-eight hours' notice was agreed upon. 76 The next day Taylor was notified that, since the President had disapproved the pact, hostilities would be resumed forty-eight hours after he received the notice.77 Even

Surget to Taylor, April 6, 1865, ibid., 1209; Taylor to Maury, April 10, 1865, ibid., 1223; Taylor to Maury, April 11, 1865, ibid., 1226; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 221-222; Maury to Davis, December 25, 1865, in Rowland, Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, VI, 228-233.

**Taylor to Watte, March 27, 1885,

VI, 228-233.

Taylor to Watts, March 27, 1865, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, p. 1156.

Taylor to Wirt Adams, April 3, 1865, ibid., 1196; Wilson to Thomas, April 4, 1865, ibid., 217; Wilson's Report, April 21, 1865, ibid., 424-425.

Wilson to Thomas, April 4, 1865, ibid., 216; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 219.

Taylor to Forrest, April 5, 1865, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, pp. 1206-1207; Taylor to Forrest, April 13, 1865, ibid., 1234.

Taylor to Forrest, April 12, 1865, ibid., 1229.

G. Grander to Canby, April 24, 1865, ibid., 455; Rowland, Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, VI, 228-233.

tionalist, VI, 228-233.

**Thomas to Taylor, April 17, 1865, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, p. 379.

**James R. Currell to Canby, April 23, 1865, ibid., 448.

**Currell to Taylor, April 27, 1865, ibid., 1267; Taylor to Surget, April 30, 1865, ibid., 1270; Taylor, "The Last Confederate Surrender", in Southern Historical Association Papers, III, 155-158.

**Taylor, April 30, 1865, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, p. 531.

then, Canby ordered his army to desist from further hostilities or destruction of property except to oppose any offensive movements which the Confederates might make. 78 On May 2, 1865, Taylor capitulated on the same terms granted Lee, but the formal surrender did not occur until the 4th.79 Munitions became the property of the Federals, men were paroled and permitted to go home, officers being allowed to retain their side arms and horses and privates to keep their horses, and transportation and subsistence was to be furnished to the place nearest each man's home.80

However, the surrender did not end Taylor's duties, for he undertook to assist Canby with innumerable details with which he was confronted. Taylor prepared the muster rolls and turned the Confederate property over to the United States government. He requested Canby to provide an escort to Nashville for the coin of the State Bank of Tennessee which had been brought away by Isham G. Harris, the governor of that state, who had fled when the Confederates were forced from Tennessee.81 His recommendation that guards be furnished to protect public property was adopted,82 but he protested unsuccessively against the practice of garrisoning posts with Negro troops.83 The governors of Mississippi and Alabama requested advice as to their course of action and Taylor suggested that the legislatures be called into special session to provide for conventions to abolish slavery and to repeal the ordinances of secession, and this suggestion was adopted.84 When these matters had been cared for, Taylor left for Mobile where Canby took him on board a vessel to New Orleans. He was penniless, but with money obtained from selling his horses he was able to defray the expenses of his wife and children from Shreveport to New Orleans.85 While in Shreveport, Taylor witnessed the surrender of Kirby Smith's troops. Officers from Shreveport came to New Orleans and reported that the condition of affairs in the Trans-Mississippi Department was beyond their control and they wished Federal

⁷⁸ Canby to Steele and A. J. Smith, May 2, 1865, ibid., 575.
78 Canby to Grant, May 2, 1865, ibid., 573; Taylor to Maury, May 3, 1865, ibid., 1278-1280.
79 Conditions of surrender of forces, May 4, 1865, ibid., 609; Statements of numbers surrendered, May 4, 1865, ibid., Ser. II, Vol. VIII, p. 718.
78 Southern Historical Association Papers, III, 155-158; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstantial 2023 (2015)

struction, 223-224

<sup>23-22-2.
24</sup> Taylor to Canby, May 6, 1865, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, p. 643.
25 Taylor to Canby, May 8, 1865, ibid., 673; Canby to Taylor, May 8, 1865, ibid., 673.
24 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 227-228.

[#] Ibid., 228-229.

troops to restore order. Taylor was requested to be present at the surrender which was held on May 25, 1865.86

Thus closed the war in which Taylor had participated throughout its length. As he says in his reminiscences of that struggle, "from the Charleston Convention to this point, I shared the fortunes of the Confederacy and can say as Grattan did of Irish freedom, that I 'sat by its cradle and followed its hearse' ".87 That he experienced no regret for his participation is substantiated by his letter written the day before the surrender, when he said: "The cause for which we have struggled for four years was a just one at the beginning of the war and it is just now." Of the surrender he said: "I wish to assure, . . . with an unabated confidence in the justice of our cause, that we have but one course to take, and that is to manfully and honorably meet our responsibilities as soldiers and citizens".88

Entering the service as a colonel, Taylor eventually became a lieutenant-general. By far the larger number of those who gained fame in the war were trained in military tactics; Taylor was a notable exception. Wherever fate placed him, he always used the resources at his command to the best advantage and was not beset by any major military failure. Never having an independent command, his resourcefulness marked Richard Taylor as an outstanding leader of that struggle, and placed him immediately behind Lee, Jackson, and the Johnstons.

Chapter VI

LIFE AFTER THE WAR

Richard Taylor was among the leaders of the Confederacy who were exempted from clemency by Andrew Johnson's amnesty proclamation of May 29, 1865. Many high-ranking officials, including Robert E. Lee, at once attempted to obtain a pardon for their participation in the "rebellion". Some went in person to Washington, others brought political pressure to bear upon the administration there, and still others resorted to pardon brokers.2

^{**} Ibid., 229.
** Ibid., 229.
** Ibid., 229.
** Taylor to Maury, May 3, 1865, Oficial Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 2, pp. 1278-1280.

1 J. T. Dorris, "Pardoning Leaders of the Confederacy", in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XV (1928-1929), 3.

2 Ibid., 3-21; J. T. Dorris, "Pardon Seekers and Brokers: A Sequel of Appomattox", in Journal of Southern History, I (1935), 276-292.

Within a few months after his surrender, Taylor went to Washington for a different purpose—to assist his friends and especially to secure Jefferson Davis' release from Fortress Monroe.3 He was personally acquainted with many Republicans who had earlier been Whigs when his father was President. Taylor obtained permission from Canby to journey to New York, and upon his arrival there in July, 1865, secured a permit to visit Washington. Of President Johnson he asked two favors, permission to visit Jefferson Davis and to go to Liverpool,6 but his requests were not acted upon and he was advised to return at a later date.7 The matter was discussed in a cabinet meeting but no decision was reached. Edward M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, issued an order prohibiting paroled prisoners from visiting Washington without his permission, but President Johnson immediately gave Taylor the necessary authority to remain.8 Ultimately, after several interviews, Johnson stated that it would save him embarrassment if Taylor could induce prominent individuals to recommend that his request be granted.9 Acting upon this suggestion, Taylor conferred with Thaddeus Stevens, radical member of the House, Henry Winter Davis, a former member of the House from Maryland who had much influence, Senator Charles Sumner, and many others; but none would intercede in his behalf. Eventually, he obtained the desired permission from President Johnson. 10 After visiting Davis at Fortress Monroe, Taylor attempted to prepare for the trial which at that time was thought impending. However, Davis was not indicted until May, 1866, and his case never came up for trial. Taylor secured permission for Davis' wife to remain with him and he continued his active efforts for his release. For a time in 1866 he believed that his goal was near realization,11 but Davis was not released until May, 1867.

Taylor was more successful in his efforts to secure the release of the former governors of Alabama and Mississippi, T. H. Watts and Charles Clark, who had been taken into custody after

³ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 29-30, 239.

⁴ Ibid., 239.

[&]amp; Ibid

He had previously requested this permission from Canby who recommended to the Washington authorities that he do so, but apparently no action was taken on the matter.

Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 240; Daily Picayune, August 19, 1865.

Daily Picayune, August 19, 1865.

⁹ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 243.

¹⁰ Ibid., 243-246.

¹¹ Taylor to Mrs. Jefferson Davis, November 10, 1866, in Rowland, Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, VII, 79.

convening the legislatures of their respective states.12 A pardon was sought for Thomas Overton Moore, former governor of Louisiana. Moore did not follow Taylor's suggestion to come north to plead his own case but instead left it in Taylor's hands. Little could be done except to forward Moore's application to J. Madison Wells, then Governor of Louisiana, for his endorsement, and Taylor expressed the belief that nothing could be accomplished prior to the convening of Congress in December, 1865.13 However, he did not remain for the opening of that body but returned to New Orleans in the latter part of the year.14

Following the close of the war, the ex-Confederates obtained control of the government of Louisiana. Naturally, this did not meet the approval of the Radicals and they decided to reconvene the convention which had framed the Constitution of 1864. Accordingly, it was called to meet in New Orleans on July 30, 1866, to consider the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. Serious doubt existed as to its legality and it was greatly opposed by the ex-Confederates, but nevertheless it met on the appointed day. Only a few minutes after it had convened rioting began between Negroes and citizens aided by some police, and many Negroes were killed.15 Taylor witnessed a portion of this struggle and was called to Washington to explain the circumstances attending it. There he urged President Johnson to relieve Philip H. Sheridan as commander of the Department of the Gulf and to replace him with Winfield Scott Hancock. Johnson adopted this suggestion, 16 and for a time political conditions in Louisiana improved.

While in Washington Taylor interviewed Johnson and Grant, with both of whom he seemed to be on intimate terms. 17 Grant and Taylor believed that Stanton, the Secretary of War, and William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, should both be dismissed, as they were disloyal to the President, but this Johnson would not do. 18 Upon the solicitation of Johnson, Taylor attended a convention which convened at Philadelphia on August 16, 1866, for the purpose of endorsing the President's policy. There ex-

12 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 239-240.

Taylor to Moore, October 1, 1865, Moore Manuscripts; Taylor to Moore, October 31, 1865, ibid.
 Taylor to Moore, October 31, 1865, ibid.; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 247.
 John R. Ficklen, "History of Reconstruction in Louisiana through 1868", in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXVIII (1910), 146-179.

Obituary notices in Taylor Scrapbook; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 251.
 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 242-252.
 George F. Milton, The Age of Hate, Andrew Johnson and the Radicals (New York, 1930), 320-321; John T. Morse (ed.), Dary of Gideon Welles, 3 vols. (New York, 1911), III, 72-73; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 252.

Confederates, northern Democrats and office seekers met and approved the presidential reconstruction policies.¹⁹

Prior to the nominating conventions of 1868 Taylor had many interviews with General Grant.20 After Grant's election to the presidency, though in the North much of the time, Taylor did not again see Grant until July, 1872, when both were in Boston attending a meeting of the Peabody Education Board. Grant did little to allay the misery of the South but rather, upon his election to the presidency, adopted the viewpoint of the Radical leaders. During these four years, 1868-1872, although Taylor maintained an interest in the reconstruction policies, he did not actively participate in politics. However, following the election of 1872, two returns were made on the election for Governor and a majority of the Louisiana legislature. The Democrats or Conservatives held that John McEnery was elected as Governor, while the Radicals contended that William Pitt Kellogg was the victor. Both assumed office as governor and convened their repective legislatures. For a time it seemed as though grave consequences might result.21 A committee of over two hundred citizens called upon Taylor and urged him to visit Washington and use his influence to secure the recognition of the Conservative government in Louisiana. Taylor accepted this mission and in interviews with Grant persuaded him that the McEnery government should be recognized if Congress took no action to the contrary. It soon became known, however, that Oliver P. Morton, a Radical Senator from Indiana, opposed this plan and by political manipulations forced Grant to inform Congress that, should it fail to take action upon the matter, the Kellogg government would be recognized as the rightful one in Louisiana.22

Taylor's political influence did not end with his failure to accomplish this object. He had met Samuel J. Tilden at the Philadelphia convention of 1868 and subsequently the two became warm friends. At the Democratic nominating convention held in St. Louis in 1876, Taylor whipped the Southern delegates into line for Tilden. He took an active interest in his canvass and was an efficient worker in Tilden's unsuccessful campaign

Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 252-253; Burke A. Hinsdale (ed.), The Works of James Abram Garfield, 2 vols. (Boston, 1882), 234-239.
 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 256.

n Ibid., 259-260; Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868 (New York, 1918), 206-229.

²² Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 260-262.

for president.23 Even after this election Taylor maintained an active interest in politics. In 1879, shortly before his death, he published an article in a New York newspaper humorously belittling the various presidential aspirants: U. S. Grant, James G. Blaine, Roscoe Conkling, Allen G. Thurman, James A. Bayard and Thomas A. Hendricks. His cutting remarks in regard to them are rare and striking.24

The war ruined Taylor financially, for with "Fashion" seized and his slaves freed he was destitute. His former slaves heard of his lack of means and offered him a considerable sum of money which they had saved from their earnings, but this he refused, promising that should it later be needed it would be accepted.25 In November, 1865, it was rumored that he "was engaged to direct and oversee a still more comprehensive cotton planting enterprise in the whole region (Mississippi Valley)."26 Further, the rumor stated that he was appointed superintendent of a company which had several plantations in Bolivar County, Mississippi,27 but no other mention can be found of his engaging in these activities. In 1866 the Louisiana legislature passed an act authorizing the leasing of the New Basin Canal in New Orleans to a responsible party.28 On March 6, 1866, Taylor leased the canal, under the provisions of this act, for a term of fifteen years and agreed to pay an annual rental of \$36,000 the first year, \$37,000 the second year, and a regularly increasing sum annually until finally \$85,000 was to be paid the last year of the lease. However, Taylor did not pay a cent of rental upon the canal, and in August, 1873, the state annulled the lease and obtained a judgment against him, which was never paid.20 What other means of financial support he possessed in this period is doubtful. After his wife's death in March, 1875,30 he had only his three daughters to provide for. As he had only a life interest in "Fashion", upon his death it reverted from the Federal hands to that of his estate and in 1883 was sold for \$17,250.31 By the terms of his will his three daughters shared equally in his estate.32

Obituary notices in Taylor Scrapbook.
 New Orleans Democrat, quoted from New York World, February 1, 1879, in Taylor

Scrapbook.

Scrapbook.

Doituary notices from New York newspaper, in Taylor Scrapbook.

Daily Picayune, November 16, 1865, quoted from New York Express.

New Orleans Times, November 2, 1865.

Sacts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana (1866), Act No. 12, pp. 20-23.

Description of the Board of Control, New Basin Canal and Shell Road (1898).

Obituary notices from New York newspapers, in Taylor Scrapbook; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 247.

St. Charles Parish Court Records, Conveyance Book G, 234-242.

Copy of Taylor's will in possession of Mrs. Alice Stauffer Hardie.

During this period Taylor actively participated in the social life of New Orleans. He became a member of the Boston Club and was its president from 1868 to 1873. This was the oldest social club in New Orleans, having been founded for the purpose of playing the "game of Boston" in 1841, but later all manner of games were permitted in its halls.33 In 1870 Taylor was also a member of the Metairie Association which was composed of seventeen members. This group conducted the races at that track,34 but whether Taylor realized any financial gain from membership is not known.

George Peabody, the American philanthropist, established a fund for promoting education in the poorer portions of the southern states. This endowment was placed in charge of a board of trustees and Taylor was elected a member of this body to succeed E. A. Bradford at the annual meeting in 1871.35 For several meetings he took little part in the proceedings, and because of his absence in Europe was not present at the one held in New York in 1873. However, in 1877 he was appointed on the executive committee of the Board.36 In 1878, at the last meeting which he attended, he expressed, in behalf of the southern members, appreciation for the work being carried on.37

Following his failure to persuade Grant that the Conservative government should be recognized in Louisiana, Taylor left for Europe in May, 1873, to conduct business for certain capitalists.³⁸ While there he achieved the crowning triumph of his social career. He gained recognition at the London club for his skill as a whist player. 39 Evidently he participated in racing activities, as he was selected as a foreign member of the Turf Club in 1873 and again in 1874. There he became intimate with the Prince of Wales who introduced him to Queen Victoria, and as a result he was invited to spend a week at the castle. The Prince asked him to become a member of a party to India, but this he declined. He then journeyed to Paris where he was received by Marshal MacMahon, and thence to Germany where Bismarck and Von Moltke gave him a grand dinner. In all these European circles he distinguished

^{**} Henry Rightor (ed.), Standard History of New Orleans, Louisiana (Chicago, 1900), 608; Daily Picayune, January 9, 1870; New Orleans Times, January 12, 1870.

** Daily Picayune, April 24, 1870.

** Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Educational Fund, Vol. I (Boston.

<sup>1875), 274.

**</sup> Ibid., Vol. II (Boston, 1881), 138.

** Ibid., 195.

^{**} Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 269; Obituary notice in Taylor Scrapbook.

** Obituary notice in Taylor Scrapbook; Wickham Hoffman, Camp, Court and Siege (New York, 1877), 95-96.

himself by his brilliant conversation for which he had been noted from early manhood.40

Upon his return to America, and after the death of his wife. Taylor removed his family to Winchester, Virginia, where his sister resided, and there turned his attention to literature.41 He published a monograph on the life of George Mason⁴² which is well written when considered in the light of similar work of that period.

Taylor is credited with being among the individuals who preserved the records of the Confederacy. He encouraged Dabney H. Maury in his work of establishing the Southern Archives, first at New Orleans and later at Richmond.48 Taylor's main work, which he entitled Destruction and Reconstruction, was substantially completed by 1877 and advance sheets of portions of it were published in two periodicals of that time.44 The book itself was published only a week prior to Taylor's death, which occurred in 1879. This work gained prominent notice at the time of its appearance. Reviews were usually prejudiced according to the bias of the magazine or the reviewer. Thus two magazines of northern sympathies pronounced the book as one which did not merit praise,45 while another written by a former Confederate general pronounced it to be exceptionally good.46 However, an exception to this rule is a notice given it in a history of the United States by Alexander H. Stephens. 47 Perhaps this might be accounted for by the fact that Taylor's memoirs severely criticized Stephens and the two did not work together during or after the war.

The opening chapter of Destruction and Reconstruction gives the background of reconstruction, Taylor's participation in the Charleston convention of 1860, and his role in the Louisiana Secession Convention of 1861. There follows his military record in Virginia, Louisiana, and Alabama and Mississippi. A chapter

Obituary notices from New York newspapers, in Taylor Scrapbook.

Libid.; The South in the Building of the Nation, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1909-1913), XII,

<sup>439-441.

439-441.

45</sup> Taylor, "A Statesman of the Colonial Era", in North American Review, (1879), 144-160.

46 Maury's review in Appleton's Journal, found in Taylor's Scrapbook; Maury to Davis, April 19, 1883, in Rowland, Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, IX, 209.

47 "Reminiscences of the Civil War", in North American Review, CXXVI (1878), 77-106; "Stonewall Jackson and the Valley Campaign", ibid., 238-261; "Reminiscences of Secession, War, and Reconstruction", in Southern Historical Society Papers, V (1878), 136-140.

48 Maury's review in Appleton's Journal.

49 May The Magazine of American History, III (1879), 522-523; The Nation, XXVIII (1879), American History of the United States

⁴⁷ Alexander H. Stephens, A Comprehensive and Popular History of the United States (Atlanta, 1882), 990-994.

entitled "Criticisms and Reflections" throws light on the mistakes of the various leaders of the Confederacy, the position of cotton in the struggle, the institution of slavery, the battle of the southern people in their struggle against odds, and the injustices committed by the North in the name of reconstruction. Attention is then devoted to the part he played in attempting to mitigate the harsh reconstruction measures and his efforts in behalf of Tilden in 1876. Throughout the work Taylor gives short critical sketches of prominent individuals on both sides. As the book progresses, he describes the scenery and geography of the country in which he operated, occasionally he weaves in a few local customs, and often he gives personal anecdotes. Major battles are discussed, and occasionally he surmises as to what might have been the result if such a movement had not occurred.

While Taylor's style is interesting, it certainly was not of the first rank in his day. His use of metaphors, his continued and sometimes illogical use of the classics, and his manner of illustration, occasionally are carried to the extreme. However, his evaluation of individuals is praiseworthy. He often says in many words what could be stated more clearly in less, but such is usually the case with reminiscences.

On the whole, Destruction and Reconstruction is more authoritative than most works of its kind. Occasionally the early portions are in error, especially in regard to the secession movement in Louisiana. However, much of the account of his operations as commander is taken from his reports and returns, together with many of those of the Federals made available as a result of the Congressional investigation of the Red River expedition. In the period subsequent to the war he relied upon his memory and it is apparent that errors and omissions are present.

After 1875 Taylor passed much time at Newport and New York and at the latter place spent a portion of it at the home of S. M. L. Barlow. It was there, while superintending the publication of his memoirs, that he was stricken with dropsy and died on April 12, 1879. His passing was regretted by many, and of him a New Orleans paper said: "When Louisiana in after years raises a monument to all who served her well and loved her best, high up among those whom she will delight to honor will be this statesman, soldier, and patriot".49

Davis to W. T. Walthall, May 6, 1878, in Rowland, Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, VIII, 196.
Daily Picayune, April 13, 1879.

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THE DIMINISHING INFLUENCES OF GERMAN CULTURE IN NEW ORLEANS LIFE SINCE 1865*

By WILLIAM ROBINSON KONRAD

INTRODUCTION

The city of New Orleans is often referred to as a French town and the activities of that national group and its influences in the city's life have been so often lauded that little is generally known about other foreign groups which helped to build the city. The part which the Germans played in New Orleans life is seldom brought to view though they existed in great numbers and their influence was rather heavily felt up until the twentieth century.

Founded and populated by the French, New Orleans was originally a French town and it remained predominantly French up into the nineteenth century. But then large numbers of Germans began coming over and soon the city had a larger German than French population. This German society established its own newspapers, churches, schools and other cultural institutions which played an important part in the civic and social life up to the twentieth century and which lasted to some extent until the World War.

The public in general has heard little of this sincere, hard-working national group and its influences on our civilization, although its contributions have become an integral part of the city's culture. It was a group which came over to the New World for the opportunities it offered, took advantage of these, and, throwing off its nationalistic ties, became active American citizens. They participated in many phases of the city's life but for the most part were unobtrusive and obscure in that their participation was not that of Germans but of Americans.

Here it is our aim to show, however, not so much the actual part played by the Germans in the city's life, but to show the heights their cultural influences reached and their rapid decline since the Civil War. This is the more interesting when we realize that the German element in the city prior to about 1840 was

^{*} Master's thesis in German, Tulane University, 1940.

comparatively unimportant. By 1870 it was the largest single national group in the city with a rapidly growing influence on the cultural life of New Orleans, and yet within another forty years its zealous activity as a national unit had almost disappeared though the people themselves remained as a numerically leading foreign-born group in New Orleans.

As little has been written on the subject of the Germans in Louisiana, except by Professor J. Hanno Deiler, and as German newspaper files are very incomplete, a great deal of the following information was obtained from old citizens, church officers and church records, and the records of the now extinct Deutsche Gesellschaft and those of the Deutsches Haus.

Chapter I

NEW ORLEANS AS A GERMAN COMMUNITY

During the turbulent years of the nineteenth century in Europe, and particularly between the years 1840 and 1860, there was an unprecedented mass migration of Germans to the New World. As New Orleans was the second largest port in the United States, it is not surprising that a great number of these immigrants should have landed here, particularly as New Orleans, with its great river, afforded access to the great new lands west of the Mississippi. Thousands of German nationals landed in New Orleans every year until the peak was reached in 1853, when it was estimated that 35,965 persons born in the German states landed here.

After this date immigration to New Orleans decreased rapidly and permanently, though Germans continued to leave their native country in droves until the last decade of the past century. Most of this immigration was now being drawn to New York, due among other things, probably, to the great railroad building projects connecting the East with the West and thus affording new and quicker routes to the open country. Then too, immigration ceased entirely during the Civil War, and following that, the Reconstruction period in Louisiana was hardly inducive to German immigration.

¹ J. Hanno Deiler, Germany's Contribution to the Present Population of New Orleans with a Census of the German Schools (New Orleans, 1886).

German immigration since has never approached its earlier strength. Nevertheless, quite a large German colony was formed here by the earlier immigrants. Deiler, using the records of the now extinct Deutsche Gesellschaft, estimated that, between 1847 and 1880, 273,000 Germans landed in New Orleans.² This figure, of course, does not tell us how many of these remained here, as great numbers migrated to Texas and Missouri and other points west. But using the United States Census for the year 1880 we find that 13,944 German-born persons were residents of this city.

Deiler, however, does not agree with this figure. Starting with the number of those who landed here between 1847 and 1880 and deducting those which left the city, accounting for those killed in the war and those who died from the yellow-fever epidemics, and stating that there were many inaccuracies in the report due to the immigrants' ignorance and lack of coöperation and because the census was taken at a time (in June) when a great number of the population was out of town, Deiler estimates that there were, in 1880, 25,000 German-born persons in New Orleans.

Using the figures of the United States Census of 1880, when the total population of New Orleans was 216,090, we find that the Germans made up nearly six and one-half per cent of the population at that time. If we use Deiler's figures we can hardly base the percentage on the total population as given by the census. If we accept his figures as correct then we must allow, if not the same discrepancy percentage between his figures and those of the census, at least a large one to that of the total population. Surely the reasons for an incorrect count of the Germans would also apply to that of the others, particularly as they were made up of a great number of other foreign-born groups. If we then allow that error in the total count, both figures are simply raised and the percentage remains about the same.

But it seems that Deiler was just a little too enthusiastic in his estimate, as the official census gives the following figures for the population of New Orleans and the German-born element for the past eight decades:

^{*} Ibid.

Year	German Born ³	Total
1860	19,553	168,675
1870	15,239	191,418
1880	13,944	216,090
1890	11,338	242,039
1900	8,733	287,104
1910	6,115	339,075
1920	3,418	387,219
1930	2,159	458,762

The year 1860 is the peak of the German-born element in the city. Following this there was a five-year period of absolutely no immigration, which, with the Germans killed in the Civil War, would account in part for the decrease of over 4,000 in the decade from 1860 to 1870. After this period, as said before, German immigration dropped off permanently. This should indicate a steady decrease in number of that element from that time on, and the table shows that decrease. How then are we to account for the sudden and tremendous increase which Deiler's figures show for 1880? And likewise how are we to account for the sudden and even greater decrease from 1880 to 1890? It hardly seems likely that the inaccuracies of which Deiler speaks in the report should occur in several successive counts, and, since the United States Census shows a more logical decrease, I think we must accept its figures as being the more accurate.

These large numbers of Germans then, as any national group is prone to do, from the first settled in colonies within the larger community, New Orleans. Lafayette, the section of the present city between Felicity and Toledano streets and the river; Carrollton; and the Third District below Esplanade Avenue, were settled mostly by Germans. There were also great numbers who settled on the opposite bank of the river in Algiers.

As the Germans were an industrious, culture-loving people, it is not unnatural that they should have set up in their midst, as did the French, Italian and Irish, their own cultural institutions. And it is mainly in the aforementioned German sections of the city that we find in 1865 the numerous excellent German schools and churches around which all national activity tends to center.

³ After 1860 the German-born group was the largest single foreign-born element in New Orleans until 1910 when the Italian group surpassed it. Today the Germans are second in number only to the Italians. These figures do not indicate what is referred to as the German element in New Orleans. Naturally that number is much greater.

Chapter II

THE PRESS

As the printed page today plays such an important role in our daily lives and tends to hold together those speaking a common language, so it did with the German colony in New Orleans in the nineteenth century. For that reason it seems natural that we should begin our discussion of the cultural influences with the German newspapers.

The opening of the year 1865 saw four German newspapers being published in New Orleans for the prime benefit of some 16,000 persons. During the next half century, as the German population of New Orleans steadily decreased, sixteen others sprang up at various intervals, took a few breaths, and quietly expired. With only three newspapers being published for the greater part of this period, and these all by one company, the New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung, New Orleans seemed to be a German journalist's paradise. But such did not prove to be the case, as evidenced by the short life of every such venture undertaken between the years 1865 and 1908.

One of the oldest, and the most long-lived, of German newspapers in New Orleans was the New Orleans Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung which was started in 1848. Two years later the Louisiana Staatszeitung was founded by Herman Boelitz and Company. Both of these newspapers, which were dailies, continued to appear side by side for several years. Then, in 1859, Peter Pfeiffer, who had bought the former in 1853, began Das Wochenblatt der New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung, a weekly appearing every Thursday. And in 1865 he started a Sunday paper, Das Sonntagsblatt der New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung.

This same year the Staatszeitung disappeared and the following March it was bought out by Pfeiffer and his partner Hassinger. Apparently, the competition of the older newspaper and its offspring with the Staatszeitung was too much for the latter, particularly since in its later years the Staatszeitung supported the Federals. Thus it was that in 1866 the New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung, with its daily, weekly and Sunday papers, under the leadership of Pfeiffer and Hassinger enjoyed a monopoly for several months.

⁴J. Hanno Deiler, Die Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse (New Orleans, 1901), 21.

Apparently the field was now clear and all was harmonious. But as the smoke of battle cleared and the city was beginning life anew, the *Deutsche Zeitung* commenced to have a little Civil War of its own. At that time there was a certain Kredell, one of the editors of the paper, who had a violent disagreement with Pfeiffer and threatened to quit and start another newspaper in opposition.⁵ Not wanting this competition, Hassinger bought Pfeiffer's interest in the paper and from April, 1866, published it by himself.

But Kredell, having once visualized his own paper, could not get the idea out of his head. He resigned, managed to form a company, and on September 1, 1866, a daily, the New Orleans Journal, made its appearance. The following January, a weekly too, was published by the new company. This, the first of many attempts to break the monopoly of the Deutsche Zeitung, did not last long. It came to an end on March 18, 1867.

The personnel of the *Journal*, however, did not so easily give up hope, and on May 6, 1867, a humorous sheet, known as the *New Orleans Montagspost*, made its first appearance. But it too was a failure and breathed its last on July 29 of the same year.⁷

For nearly eight months now the Hassinger enterprises again monopolized the German newspaper field. Then on March 15, 1868, another daily, the New Orleans Deutsche Presse, first saw the light of day and after ten months of a none too prosperous existence it came to an end on January 12 of the following year.

The next German newspaper to come off the press, but of which there seem to be no copies available, was the *Echo von New Orleans*. Though copies for the period from May through September, 1870, are listed in the catalogue of the New Orleans Public Library they could not be found. *Die Laterne*, which was started on April 13, 1872,° is another paper of which no copies are available. All that is known is that it was a humorous, satirical weekly and did not last long.

For nearly three years now no one else entered the field of journalism. Then a certain Fritz Ehren, apparently feeling that there was a need for a monthly newssheet in the German colony, started another *Louisiana Staatszeitung* in January, 1875. This

Ibid., 80.

Ibid.

monthly, however, lacked "timeliness," an essential to a good newspaper, and the project lasted only until April 10 of the same year.¹⁰

Throughout the next twenty years there appeared for short periods several more newspapers of which there are no copies available. Deiler, in his pamphlet, lists five. A radical workers' paper, Der Hammer, published by Ludwig Geissler, a socialist agitator, appeared in March, 1876, and, as Deiler puts it: "Der Hammer soil bis Ende Oktober desselben Jahres gehämmert haben."

In August of the same year a weekly political organ, Louisiana Deutsches Journal, made its appearance and lasted until March 4, 1877. In 1884 one issue of the Narrhalla appeared. The New Orleans Deutsches Familienjournal lasted from May 9, 1891, to September of the same year. George Müller, the publisher, who had made many previous attempts at establishing a newspaper in New Orleans, printed the following obituary in the last issue:

New Orleans Montagspost. Vom 6. Mai 1867 bis zum 29. Juli 1867.

New Orleans Deutsche Presse.

Vom 27. Dezember 1868 bis zum 12. Januar 1869

Louisiana Deutsches Journal.

Vom 20. August 1876 bis zum 25 Februar 1877.

Narrhalla.

Eintagsfliege, Februar 1884.

New Orleans Deutsches, Familienjournal mit beilage

Unsere Lustigen Blätter.

Vom 9. Mai 1891 bis zum 26. September 1891. Requiescant in Pace!¹¹

To promote Louisiana and to encourage German immigrants to come here, Hugo Lehmann founded *Der Südliche Pionier* in 1893. The backers of this enterprise, the brothers Duson of Acadia Parish, lost interest in the project after the first issue, which was devoted to the wonders of their parish. The paper failed and Mr. Lehmann moved on to other fields.

¹⁰ Ibid. 11 Ibid., 37.

Fritz Kölling started publication of a weekly on June 22, 1896, which he called *Unser Käseblättchen*. After the first two issues the name was changed to the *Deutsche Kritiker* and continued under that name until January 14, 1897, when the paper appeared for the last time. A paper printed in both German and English appeared on April 28, 1901, under the name *New Orleans Journal*. Published weekly, it was an "Unabhängige Zeitung für den Humor, die Satyre und den Ernst des Lebens." Just when it ceased publication is not certain, but the last issue available is that of November 24, 1901.

On June 23, 1907, Oscar Grillo entered the newspaper field with the issuance of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung which appeared every Sunday and Wednesday. The Wednesday edition, on March 4, 1908, became the Wochentliche Rundschau under George Schantzbach and continued until January 27, 1909, when it was taken under the wing of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung once again, as indicated by an announcement in the former on January 20, 1909, which reads: "Die Wochentliche Rundschau wird am 27. Januar 1909 zum letzten Male erscheinen. Die Neue Deutsche Zeitung erscheint vom 31. January an 12 Seiten Stark." No editions of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung are available after April, 1909.

But meanwhile, in 1907, the New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung, which had appeared for nearly sixty years and had monopolized the newspaper field in New Orleans for most of that time, finally liquidated. The following statement appeared in an editorial in the Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung on April 14 of that year:

JETET IST DIE REIHE AN UNS!

Mit der heutigen Nummer verabschiedet sich die New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung von ihren lesern. Sie wird nicht mehr erscheinen, nachdem sie der deutschen sache seit dem 1. August 1848, also über 58 Jahre, in Freud' und Leid und stets nach besten Kräften diente.

(Signed) The New Orleans German Gazette Publishing Co., Ltd., in Liquidation.

The oldest and by far the most readable German newspaper had met its last deadline. Never before or since has any German newspaper enjoyed such a long existence in the city. Though

¹² New Orleans Journal, April 28, 1901.

other German newspapers may have sprung up for short periods after the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, it is very doubtful, as there are none available. The German press in New Orleans is dead.

But why the many unsuccessful attempts of other enterprisers to set up newspapers alongside the Deutsche Zeitung? The answer to this seems to lie in four things. First, the Deutsche Zeitung was an old paper, comparatively speaking; it had made somewhat of a name for itself, suited the German populace and was financially sound. In view of this, other journalistic endeavors had no attraction, as the German by nature is cautious. He is not likely to give up something which he has accepted after careful consideration and which has proven to be satisfactory for something new and unproven. Secondly, after 1865, when the Deutsche Zeitung had a daily, a weekly and a Sunday paper, it covered, for all practical purposes, the local field of journalism leaving no unbroken ground for another paper. Thirdly, as time went on, it became increasingly more difficult financially to set up another newspaper. The city was becoming more commercial in tone and business must advertise. This need the Englishlanguage dailies fulfilled whereas the German ones did not. So the latter suffered financially. Finally, this one publishing company, with its three papers, afforded a group of people, who were rapidly and easily being assimilated and giving up their native tongue, the only link they wished with their Fatherland.

As a continuation of the editorial mentioned before¹³ the Deutsche Zeitung expresses rather well the language situation:

... die Kinder und Kindeskinder der eingewanderten alten Deutschen haben die Sprache ihrer Eltern nicht bewahrt. In allen noch bestehenden New Orleans deutschen Kirchen ist die englische Sprache eingeführt werden "um die nicht mehr deutsch sprechenden Kinder der Gründer der Gemeinde zu erhalten" und wird oft nur noch gelegentlich Deutsch gepredigt "um die Alten zufrieden zu stellen, die nicht Englisch kömmen."

Unter diesen Umständen sind deutsche Kirchen, deutsche Schulen, deutsche Vereine, und Logen, sind unsere Milizen, ist unsere einst berühmtes deutsches Theater zu Grunde gegangen und wird es täglich schwieriger das noch bestehende zu erhalten.

¹⁸ Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung, April 14, 1907.

Whereas in the middle of the nineteenth century there were about 20,000 Germans in New Orleans, by 1910 there were only some 6,000 and for the most part these were German simply in name. Most spoke English and had become American citizens. Thus, in 1860, a German-language newspaper was a necessity but by 1907 it had become superfluous.

Chapter III

THE CHURCHES

As New Orleans, like Louisiana, was entirely Catholic in its early years, Protestant church history of the city does not commence until early in the nineteenth century. Not until 1805 do we find the first attempts at Protestant organization in New Orleans¹⁴ and though not at first very successful it soon took root and began to grow. Paradoxically, however, the first German churches in New Orleans were not Catholic but Protestant. By 1825, only twenty years after the first introduction of Protestantism into the city, we find the first German Protestant church, whereas not until 1843 do we encounter the first German Catholic church.

Though handicapped by a late start and a precarious early life, after forty-five years there were four German Catholic and fifteen German Protestant churches in New Orleans. The German was a religious individual and his churches, though often small, were considered among the best in the city and he was proud of them, often inordinately so. As might be expected, the history of the Catholic churches is clear cut, terse, and comparatively uneventful. They were a part of the dominant religious faction in the state and under the jurisdiction of much higher, united, church officials. Conversely, the other churches had tumultuous, very eventful, precarious existences. It was often very difficult to obtain capable pastors and dissentient groups within the congregations were common. But it was just these conditions which ultimately brought about the great number of Protestant churches of different denominations.

To facilitate the discussion of these churches, we shall treat them, not chronologically, but according to denomination, as in-

¹⁴ Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, New Orleans City Guide (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1938), 20.

137

dicated by the following table which gives the name and location of each church in existence in 1865.

Catholic

St. Mary's Assumption	nJosephine, between Constance and
	Laurel streets.
Holy Trinity	Dauphine and St. Ferdinand streets.
	Cambronne Street (in Carrollton).
	Gen. Pershing, near Constance Street.

Protestant Independent

First Protestant	Clio,	between	St.	Charles	Avenue a	nd
	Caro	ndelet St	reet			

Evangelical

St. Matthew's	Zimple, between Leonidas and Monroe
	streets.
Otto Church	Dante, between Burthe and Elm
	streets.
Lafayette	Philip and Chippewa streets.

Evangelical Lutheran of Missouri Synod

	Burgundy and Port streets.
Zion	.Euterpe, between Baronne and Dry-
	ades streets.
St. John's	Iberville and Prieur streets.
Evangelical Lutheran	. Milan and Camp streets.

Bethlehem	.Felicity	Street	and	Claiborne	Avenue.

Presbyterian

First	Fir	st and	Laurel	streets	· 30 30 E
Second	.St.	Roch	and St.	Claude	avenues.

Methodist

1 11 50	Polymnia streets.
Carrollton Church	Joliet and Plum streets.
Third	Burgundy, between St. Roch Avenue
	and Music Street.
Fourth	Soraparu, between Chippewa and Annunciation streets.

The Catholic Churches

St. Mary's Assumption, the oldest German Catholic church in New Orleans, was started in 1843 for persons who lived in Lafayette. 18 Sermons were all in German for years and the church grew in size. Exactly when the first English sermon was introduced is not known, but according to the Redemptorist Fathers, who have charge of the church, at least one German sermon was given every Sunday up until 1917 when the United States entered the World War. The church is still in existence today, but there have been no German sermons since that time.

Holy Trinity Church, on St. Ferdinand Street, was organized in 1847 for the Germans living in the Third District, probably the most heavily German-populated section of the city. This church, likewise, held regular German sermons up to 1917. After this date they were discontinued, but, according to Rev. Herman Hammerstein, the present pastor, special German sermons are still held on high-feast days.

These two churches, the oldest Catholic ones in the city, also offered German sermons longer than any of the three younger ones which follow.

The Carrollton section was populated, not only by a great number of Germans, but also by French and this soon brought about a peculiar situation. As early as 1847 a pastor was sent to Carrollton to organize a congregation. In 1848 a place was bought on Cambronne Street and, as most of the congregation were German, sermons were given only in that language. This aroused ill feeling among the non-German members and so very shortly sermons were given in German, French and English. This situation existed, not without trouble and strife, however, until 1871 when the Germans decided they wanted their own church. They bought ground on the other side of the street, applied for a priest, and in 1872 Mater Dolorosa Church was dedicated.

This left the other building to the old congregation which soon became St. Mary's Nativity, for the French. These two churches existed side by side as national units until 1898 when the pastor of the former died. The late Father Francis Prim was then appointed by the archbishop to unite the two churches and make one English unit.¹⁷ This naturally put an end to the German church in that parish. In 1909, the present church edifice on Carrollton and Plum streets was built.

17 Roger Baudier, The Catholic Church in Louisiana (New Orleans, 1939), 559.

¹⁸ J. Hanno Deller, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana (New Orleans, 1894), 40.

In 1856, St. Henry's Church was organized by the Lazarist Fathers for the Germans of the Sixth District. In 1871 the church was closed for a brief period until the congregation objected and applied to the archbishop for a secular pastor. Rev. Bogaerts was appointed and the church reopened. The history of the church was, for the most part, uneventful. Rev. L. Richen was made pastor in 1890 and twenty-one years later the national character of the parish was done away with by Archbishop Blenk. 19

Holy Trinity Church had been serving the German Catholics in the Second and Third Districts below Canal Street for years. But as distances were so great and the roads bad, it was difficult for many of the Catholics to attend services. So, in 1869, St. Boniface Church was established on Galvez and Laharpe streets for the Germans in territory detached from the Parish of Holy Trinity.²⁰ This church continued German sermons until 1917 when it was felt that the Germans were Americanized and the church no longer needed. The parish was discontinued and the building itself was moved to St. Bernard Avenue where it became the Church of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart.

Independent Protestant Churches

As the church we are about to mention here was the seed from which nearly all the German Protestant churches in New Orleans sprouted, it might be well to go back to its origin and trace a brief history of it.

Because, as mentioned before, there were in the early nineteenth century few Protestant churches in the city and no German ones, a group of non-Catholics, desiring a place of worship, relegated their denominational differences to the background and organized in 1825 under the name of the First German Protestant Church in New Orleans.²¹ Though a poor and loosely organized congregation, depending for the most part upon itinerant pastors and text reading for their services, the congregation finally was able to build a church in 1839 on Clio Street between St. Charles Avenue and Carondelet Street.

¹⁸ Ibid., 458, 481.

¹⁹ Ibid., 563. 20 Ibid., 510.

¹¹ Historical Sketch of the First Evangelical Church of New Orleans, 1825-1925 (New Orleans, 1925). 9.

As time passed and the congregation grew, as was inevitable, denominational differences arose and members split off from time to time and started other Protestant churches. Nevertheless, the church continued as an independent one until 1886 when it joined the Evangelical Synod.22 That same year, the church building burned. The following year a new church was dedicated on the same site and ten years later it was renovated. But in 1905, the church was again destroyed by fire and the congregation was forced to hold services in Minerva Hall on St. Andrew Street until the new church edifice was completed on the present site, at 1831 Carondelet Street.

Meanwhile, as early as 1887, the matter of language was becoming a problem because it was realized that the younger generation, who did not know German, had to be served.28 Thus, in 1889, confirmation classes were introduced in English and Sunday night services were conducted in English twice a month. In 1900 the last German class was confirmed in German, and from that date on services were conducted in both languages every Sunday until 1918, when the German services were discontinued. After the World War, special German services were offered on a few occasions until about 1926, according to Rev. N. A. Mauns, the present pastor.

One other church, though it did not appear until many years later, must be mentioned under this heading as it does not fit under any other classification. In 1879, Hermann Perpeet, a pastor of the abovementioned Clio Street Church, left and organized an independent congregation on North Derbigny Street. As there was already one Protestant church in the neighborhood, St. John's, and after 1881, another, Emanuel Lutheran, the congregation of the Perpeet Church was undermined and disappeared about 1887.24

Evangelical Churches

Though there was originally only one German Evangelical church in Carrollton, the Rooster Church, so-called because of a cock on the tower, a split in 1855 caused a second church to be organized under Rev. Martin Otto which was called the Otto Church. Since the records of neither church are complete, and

²⁸ Ibid., 29.
28 Deller, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden, 120.

as they united again in 1884, we shall treat the two together. Both were German churches and they were within a few blocks of each other, the Rooster Church on Zimple Street and the Otto Church on Dante Street.

It was not a matter of faith or conscience but simple human selfishness and jealousy which kept the two apart. As early as 1878 there was an attempt at reunion, which was unsuccessful because the two groups could not decide which building to use.

During the debate . . . someone insultingly remarked that the Otto Church was not a church at all, but a mere hall, and not large enough to accommodate the two churches. This statement caused the president, F. Meyer, to recess the meeting for twenty-five minutes, in order to hear a committee appointed by him for the purpose of measuring the dimensions of both churches. This committee reported that the Zimple Street Church measured 1237 square feet and the Otto Church 1275 square feet.25

Following the meeting, an ultimatum was presented to the Rooster Church which read: "Accept our church as the place of worship and we agree to a union, reject our church and we remain independent."26 This broke off negotiations and the two churches remained independent until 1884 when the differences were settled and the two united. The Otto Church was used as the meeting place and the Rooster Church was sold.

In 1893, language difficulties had arisen and sometime before 1900 English services were introduced.²⁷ Services were conducted in both tongues until 1918 when the German services were discontinued. Upon the dedication of the present church on Carrollton Avenue and Willow Street in 1922, a German service was held and since that time there has been one each year on Good Friday, according to Rev. Louis Schweickhardt, the present pastor.

The Protestant church on Philip and Chippewa streets moved in 1876 to its present location on Jackson Avenue and Chippewa Street.28 The church was an independent Protestant church until 1902, when it became affiliated with the Evangelical Synod of North America through its pastor. The same year English services were introduced in an attempt to keep members of the congregation from straying to American churches.29 From this time

^{**} Story of St. Matthew's Evangelical Church (New Orleans, 1924), 32-33.

** Ibid.

** Ibid., 44, 46, 49.

** Historical Sketch of the Jackson Avenue Evangelical Church (New Orleans, 1935).

on the number of German services decreased and the English ones increased. Some special German services, however, continued until 1933, according to the present pastor, Rev. H. S. Ritter.

Lutheran Churches

The first Lutheran church to be established in the city was St. Paul's, which this year is celebrating its one hundredth anniversary. Built in the Third District, below Canal Street, in 1848, the church continued as an all-German one until 1883 when the first English service was introduced.30 The following year another pastor was called to take care of the English work in the church. This brought about certain difficulties as it split the congregation into two units, so English services were discontinued for a while after 1887, and in 1888 the English group withdrew from St. Paul's and formed the first English Lutheran church in New Orleans.

But in 1893, English services were, out of necessity, again introduced.31 In 1901 the word "German" was abolished from the name of the church and the number of English services constantly increased until by 1918 regular German services were being held only twice a month. After the World War, German services were held for a while on special occasions but those too have been discontinued, according to Rev. G. J. Wegener, a pastor of the church since 1887.

Rev. Henry Kleinhagen, a pastor in the Clio Street Church, severed himself from that congregation in 1847 and after preaching independently for several months in private houses organized, with his flock, the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1848.32 In 1849 a church was built on Euterpe, between Baronne and Dryades streets, and in 1871 the congregation moved to its present location on St. Charles Avenue and St. Andrew Street.

Four years later, English services were tried as an experiment and the results were so gratifying that they were continued.38 They could not have been held regularly, however, as, according to the church records, no regular English services were held in 1881. Only occasionally was one conducted for the benefit of

The Rev. G. J. Wegener, Evangelical Lutheran St. Paul's Congregation, 1840-1915 (New Orleans, 1915), 16.

M. Ibid., 18.

Deller, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden, 74.

Ninetieth Anniversary of the Zion Lutheran Church in New Orleans, Louisiana (New Orleans, 1937), 10.

those confirmed in that language. But in 1892, regular English services were introduced to be held in the evening, and by 1904 the main service was given in English. Services in both languages then continued until the World War when all German sermons were discontinued except for two a month on Sundays. After 1928, however, according to Rev. R. F. Lineberger, the present pastor, services were discontinued in German except for some few on special occasions. These were held, according to Rev. Lineberger, not as a necessity or by popular demand but simply as a favor for certain old Germans in the congregation. The most recent of these was held on the past Good Friday when about twenty persons attended.

In 1852, still another group split off from the Clio Street Church and formed a congregation under the name of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Congregation.34 After a short time, they built a church on Iberville and Prieur streets. As early as 1880 the first English service was introduced, but the following year a split in the congregation took place and those desiring more English services left the church. English sermons were then discontinued. But in 1893 English services were again introduced, and after 1904 all-night services were in English and only English confirmation was held.35

From this time on attendance at the English services increased while that at the German ones decreased. The church was sold in 1917 and services were held in a schoolhouse until a chapel was erected on Pierce and Canal streets in 1919. Five years later the present church was built while the congregation held its services in the Carrollton Theater. German services had been discontinued during the World War, but they were inaugurated again following it. However, as they appealed to so few members, they were discontinued entirely in 1926.86

About 1891 the Evangelical Lutheran Church on Camp and Milan streets joined the Evangelical Synod and has been, since that time, an Evangelical Church. According to the church records, regular English services were introduced in 1906. By 1912 the main services were in English and by 1917 the regular German services had been discontinued. Since that time only special

^{**} S. H. Schoenhardt, Brief History of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Congregation (New Orleans, 1927), 3.

** Ibid., 11.

** Ibid., 19.

services have been offered in German and at present there is only one a year given, on Good Friday.

Rev. Kleinhagen, who earlier had left the Clio Street Church to form the Zion Church, left this one too in 1854 and started his own church on Felicity Street.³⁷ After his death in 1885, the church was closed for a while and from this time on its existence was a shaky one. In 1887 it was sold to the Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Congregation and again regular services were held for a while. Finally in 1890, when the pastor of the church, Rev. Julius Werner, was transferred, most of his congregation followed him and the church was closed.

A great many German immigrants, when they came to the city, had settled on the right bank of the river in Algiers and for years had been attending services at St. Paul's or St. John's Church on this side of the river. But in 1875, a group of persons over there, with the aid of the two abovementioned units, formed the Lutheran Holy Trinity Church in Algiers. German services were continued in this church until about 1914. Today, according to the pastor, Rev. Arthur E. Widiger, there is hardly a person in the congregation that can understand the German language.

In 1863, the Emanuel Lutheran Church, now on North Broad and Iberville streets, was formed by a group who split off from the St. John's Church. The pastor of the latter church, seeing the need for English services, insisted on giving them at that time. He was then given permission by the congregation to hold English services twice a month. Not satisfied with this, the pastor rented a hall and held English services every Sunday, which eventually led to his dismissal.³⁹ The pastor then left with part of the congregation and, after holding both German and English services for a while in his home, moved in 1883 to a church on North Johnson and St. Louis streets, and in 1918 the group moved to its present location.

Thus, Emanuel Church started as a German-English church. The records of the church were not available but according to the pastor, Rev. Oscar J. Schilling, German was continued in the church up until the World War when, upon the advice of some of the members, it was discontinued. German was again resumed following the war but the undertaking was not successful. On

Toeller, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden, 89.
Wegener, St. Paul's Congregation, 12.
Schoenhardt, Brief History of St. John's Congregation, 9.

request of the congregation itself German was discontinued and there have been no German services since.

One other Lutheran Church, though not organized as a German unit, must be mentioned here. Gloria Dei, on South Broad Street and Napoleon Avenue, was organized as an English church in 1928. Three years ago German services were introduced on Good Friday and Christmas and have been continued since that time, according to the pastor, Rev. E. W. Kuss.

Presbyterian Churches

The first German Presbyterian church in New Orleans was established on First and Laurel streets in 1854. The church, after 1865, had several financial difficulties but continued as an entirely German unit until July, 1892, when the first English service was introduced. In 1898, the Session reported to the Presbytery that, "We are attaching more and more importance to our English services which are often better attended than the German." By 1899, the language question had become even more perplexing as so few people—and practically none of the younger generation—were attending the German services. Finally, "In 1912, when on a beautiful Sunday evening only three old ladies had appeared for service, the Session abolished all German services." The word "German" was dropped from the name of the church in 1918 and the name was later changed to First Street Presbyterian Church.

The second German Presbyterian congregation was organized in 1863 and the following year erected a church on Poet Street (now St. Roch Avenue), between St. Claude Avenue and North Rampart Street. In 1867 the congregation moved to North Claiborne Avenue, near its present location. The church membership soon became so cosmopolitan that English was introduced and by 1900 German services were limited to the afternoon sessions. By 1915 practically all of the work of the church was conducted in the English tongue and so the name was changed, eliminating the word "German", to the Claiborne Avenue Presbyterian Church. 43

In 1877, a number of the congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church on Milan Street withdrew and organized a sepa-

⁴⁰ Rev. Louis Voss, History of the First Street Presbyterian Church (New Orleans, 1929), 19.
⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 20. ⁴⁸ Rev. Louis Voss, Presbyterianism in New Orleans (New Orleans, 1931), 355-362.

rate unit under Pastor Owen Riedy.44 The same year the group decided to join the Northern Branch of the Presbyterians and on November 13, 1880, under the name of Immanuel Presbyterian Church, bought a building on Camp and Soniat streets. 45

This property had an eventful history. In 1892, it was sold or transferred to the pastor. Owen Riedy. The congregation, later charging that he had acquired the property by fraud, filed suit against him and reacquired it by a judgment of court in 1898.46 In May, 1902, the church gave notice of liquidation to the public, and in August of the same year a court order was rendered authorizing the sale of the property to pay the debts of the church.47 The property was sold and was taken over in November of that year by one Omer Villere.48

Methodist Churches

The church on Dryades Street, the first German Methodist unit in the city, continued German until 1887, when out of necessity English was substituted. Dr. J. B. Ahrens, the pastor, wrote concerning this change.

Der Nachwuchs der alten Deutschen war nicht deutsch geblieben. Um die Gemeinde vor dem Untergang zu schützen und um die Kinder der Gründer derselben der Kirche zu erhalten, war die sprachliche Veränderung unvermeidlich.49

The church continued functioning until 1906 when it was united with another congregation and the building sold. 50

The German Methodists in Carrollton had organized in 1845 and in 1859 had built a church on the corner of Joliet and Plum The congregation grew for a while, but after 1879 it started to dwindle and pastors from other churches handled the work there until 1883 when it went out of existence.⁵¹ The location today is that of a Negro church.

The Methodist Church below Canal Street, on Burgundy Street, introduced English about 1870 and conducted services in both languages until 1898 when it united with the English Moreau

⁴⁴ Deiler, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden, 114. ⁴⁵ City of New Orleans, Conveyance Office Book, Vol. 113, F. 517. ⁴⁶ Parish of Orleans, State of Louisiana, Civil District Court Docket, No. 52944.

⁴⁷ Ibid., No. 67739.
48 Conveyance Office Book, Vol. 186, F. 741.
49 Deiler, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden, 39.
50 Robert Alan Cross, The History of Southern Methodism in New Orleans (New Orleans, 1931), 63. 51 Ibid., 62.

Street Church,52 after which time English was used exclusively. The congregation used the building of the old German church which this year celebrates its one hundredth anniversary, taking its date of foundation from the Moreau Street Church.

The Soraparu Street Church, founded in 1853, remained a German unit up until about 1893. The size of the congregation had been gradually diminishing and so that year services were discontinued.53

In 1868, members of the Dryades Street Church split off and under Wilhelm Felsing organized the Felicity Street German Methodist Church.54 In 1871 the congregation built a church and moved to Loyola and St. Andrew streets. Occasional German services were given in this church until 1917. In 1923 the present Napoleon Avenue Methodist Church was built and the congregation of the Felicity Street Church united with it.55

A split in the congregation of the Soraparu Street Church in 1870 brought about the creation of a Methodist church on Eighth and Laurel streets. According to the present pastor, Rev. W. H. Bengtson, English services were introduced about 1900 and after 1905 German was discontinued entirely.

In 1874 a dissentient faction of the Burgundy Street Church left and set up a separate unit. In May of that year the group, under the name of Third German Methodist Episcopal Church, bought a piece of property on North Rampart, between Press and St. Ferdinand streets, and the same year a church was built.56 Just how long German services continued in this church is not certain, but the property was sold in September, 1900, to a Mrs. A. S. Lacoste⁵⁷ and thus passed out of the hands of the congregation.

The German church in New Orleans had a duty to fulfill that of giving to the city's German population their spiritual food in a language with which they were familiar. They fulfilled this need and now are gone. As we saw, these churches were established out of necessity and as the younger generations grew up and the older Germans learned the language of America they threw off their national garb and became American churches.

⁵² Ibid., 63.
53 Ibid., 62.
54 Deiler, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden, 109.
55 O. E. Kreige, "Sources for the History of the Napoleon Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church", (Unpublished)
56 Deiler, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden, 112.
57 Conveyance Office Book, Vol. 104, F. 349.

During their existence they were considered among the best spiritual groups in the city and the relations between them and the American churches were usually harmonious, the difference between them being only a linguistic one.

Rev. Voss writes, concerning the language situation in the Presbyterian churches in 1898, a statement which is applicable to the situation in all of the German churches at that time:

In the absence of German immigration the time cannot be far distant, when German preaching will no longer be necessary and our German churches will cease to be German speaking churches. This does not imply that in that event, they will have outlived their usefulness and must cease altogether, but the only means to prevent their extinction is their transformation into English speaking churches.

And later, after the discontinuance of German services, he said:

"Time has borne out the observations... and our church stands today as a striking example of Americanizing foreigners through the church." 58

The distinctive German churches in New Orleans have achieved their aim and are today but a memory.

Chapter IV

EDUCATION

In 1865 there were eleven German schools in New Orleans in which most if not all of the instruction was given in German. Of these eleven, all but one were church schools or had some religious affiliation. The following table is arranged to show the religious denomination of each school and its location.

German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri

St. Paul's SchoolBur	rgundy a	and Port	stre	ets	
Zion SchoolSt.	Charles	Avenue	and	St.	Andrew
Str	eet				

St. John's School......North Johnson, near Bienville Street

⁵⁶ Voss, Presbyterianism in New Orleans, 19-20.

Evangelical Synod of North America

St. Matthew's School.....Zimple, near Monroe Street

Protestant School......Clio, between St. Charles Avenue and Carondelet Street

Catholic Schools

St. Mary's School......Constance and St. Andrew streets Mater Dolorosa School.....Cambronne Street (in Carrollton)

Other Schools

Presbyterian School.....Laurel and First streets
Uebers' Private School....North Rampart, near Port Street
German-American School...Philip and Chippewa streets
(Founded by Lafayette Evangelical Church.)
St. Joseph's Asylum.....Josephine and Laurel streets
(Founded by St. Mary's Catholic Church.)

Most of these schools continued instruction in German or offered the language as an elective until about 1900, but meanwhile other schools were started which we shall treat chronologically.

Since about 1850, and particularly after the yellow-fever epidemic of 1852 and 1853, there had been great agitation for an orphan asylum for German children left homeless by the plague. The first of these, St. Joseph's Catholic Orphan Asylum, was founded in 1854 through the efforts of the congregation of St. Mary's Church. But it was not until 1866 that the German community found itself in a position to further the cause. In that year the German Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Bethlehem Orphan Asylum were founded. These asylums must be included in a discussion of education, as classes were conducted in them and they were frequently attended by children in the neighborhood as well as by the inmates.

In regard to St. Joseph's Catholic Orphan Asylum there seems to be no available records. All that is known is that instruction in the school there was under the supervision of the Sisters of Notre Dame. The German Protestant Orphan Asylum was organized mainly through the efforts of the German Evangelical Church on Jackson Avenue and later was moved to the corner of

Deiler, Geschichte der Deuschen Kirchengemeinden, 33-43.
 Beryl May Hoffman, "German Education in Louisiana", (Master's Thesis, Tulane University, 1939), 45.

State and Camp streets. 61 Here, the teaching of German lasted until the World War. In the Bethlehem Orphan Asylum, which owes its origin chiefly to an interested group in St. Paul's Church, German was used almost exclusively until 1906 when English was made the official language. 62 However, German was offered as a course of study for all who desired it until the World War.

In 1868 a school was organized by the German Presbyterian Church on Claiborne Avenue. 63 Until 1890 only German was used in the school. After this date, both English and German were used until the school closed in 1896. There are no records available concerning the Otto School, but according to Miss Julia Oswald, a former teacher there, a small school building was erected near the Otto Church about 187064 and classes were held there. This school continued until 1884 when the Otto Church and the Rooster Church, with their schools, were again united. 65

In 1871, the Holy Trinity Catholic Church organized a German school and though there seem to be no available records as to the exact date at which German teaching was discontinued, according to Mr. C. A. Schweggman, president of the Holy Trinity School Board at the present time, it was taught until the World War.

Another German Catholic school was organized in the following year by the St. Boniface Church and here the teaching of German lasted until about 1917.66 St. Henry's Catholic Church founded a school in 1873 and German was used in this school until 1900, after which date it was taught as an elective until 1906.67 About the same time, another school was organized by the German Evangelical Church on Milan Street. Instruction was in German until 1886 after which time English was gradually introduced. Exactly when German ceased entirely is not certain, but it had probably stopped by 1900, as by this time German was discontinued in the Sunday School and in most cases German lasted longer in the Sunday Schools than in the parochial schools.

In 1875 a school was started on the right bank of the river in Algiers by the German Lutheran Church located there. Enrollment in the school was always small but was sufficient to keep

ci Jackson Avenue Evangelical Church, 7.

22 Rev. G. J. Wegener, History of the Bethlehem Orphan Asylum (New Orleans, 1931), 17.

25 Deiler, Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden, 98.

26 St. Matthew's Evangelical Church, 29.

27 See Chapter III for this incident.

28 Hoffman, "German Education in Louisiana", 41.

the school operating until sometime between 1915 and 1917, when it was closed. Although it reopened in 1925, no German was taught.68

The only institution of higher learning which offered German at this time was Tulane University. As no catalogues are available for the years 1854-1877, it is impossible to say whether German was taught during these years, but it was offered during the session of 1878-1879, as indicated by the catalogue for that period. It continued to be taught there until 1919 when it was discontinued owing to an act of the State Legislature. 69 German instruction was resumed in the 1927-1928 session and has continued since.

One other German school was founded during this period. In 1883, the Emanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church established a school on Johnson and St. Louis streets. This school had only a short existence, closing in 1892 because of small attendance. It reopened in 1899 but closed again two years later for the same reason.70

After this date the schools commenced to drop German from their curricula or to disappear altogether. The first to disappear was the Presbyterian school on First and Laurel streets which closed its doors in 1883. As this then seems to be the peak of German education in New Orleans, it might be well to stop a moment and recapitulate. The following census was made by Professor Deiler to show the number of children in the city who received German instruction in 1886:71

Catholic Schools

Holy Trinity on Royal and St. Ferdinand streets	320
St. Boniface on Galvez and Lapeyrouse streets	125
St. Henry's on Gen. Pershing and Constance streets	230
Mater Dolorosa on Cambronne Street (in Carrollton)	85
St. Mary's on Constance and St. Andrew streets	741
Total	1501

Arthur Widiger, History of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Congregation (New

^{**}Rev. Arthur Widiger, History of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Congregation (New Orleans, 1924), 1.

**Act No. 114, approved July 5, 1918, Section 1: "Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, That it shall be unlawful for any teacher, professor, lecturer, person, or persons, employed in the public or private elementary or high schools, colleges, universities, or other institutions in the State of Louisiana that in any way form a part of the public or private educational system, or educational work, in the State of Louisiana, to teach the German language to any pupil or class."

Act No. 71, approved November 17, 1921, repealed this law.

**Thoffman, "German Education in Louisiana", 24.

**Thoelier, Germany's Contribution to the Present Population of New Orleans, with a Census of the German Schools, 6.

Schools of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri
St. Paul's on Burgundy and Port streets 165
St. John's on North Johnson near Bienville Street 124
Zion on Chippewa and Fourth streets (Established 1869) 145
Zion on Franklin near Jackson Avenue 100
Lutheran School in Algiers 40
Total
Schools of the Evangelical Synod of North America
Evangelical on Clio Street
Evangelical on Camp near Milan Street
Evangelical on Maple Street (in Carrollton) 68
Total
Schools of Other Synods
Second Presbyterian on St. Bernard and Claiborne avenues. 45
Evangelical Lutheran on St. Louis and Johnson streets 54
Total99
Independent Schools
Evangelical Protestant German-American School
on Philip and Chippewa streets 90
Uebers' Private School on North Rampart near Port Street 75
Total
Asylum Schools
St. Joseph's on Laurel Street
German Protestant on State Street
Bethlehem on Andry and North Peters streets 17
Total
GRAND TOTAL

Finally, Professor Deiler, taking into consideration children who obtained German instruction in Sunday Schools and not attending German parochial schools and those who attended private schools in which German was taught, including Tulane University, estimates that there were 4130 students of German in New Orleans in 1886. At this time there were nineteen German schools and several private schools in which German could be studied. The private institutions included Tulane University, where German was compulsory for many courses, and several smaller schools: Mrs. Blake's School on Second and Prytania streets; Mrs. E. Matthew's Private Academy for Girls, 349 Josephine Street; and the Locquet-Leroy New Orleans Female Collegiate Institute, 280 Camp Street.72

Newcomb College offered German for the first time during the 1887-1888 session and continued to do so through the 1917-1918 session, when it was discontinued for the same reason as that given for Tulane University.73 In 1922 the teaching of German was resumed and has continued since. After the 1880's no more schools were established for the purpose of teaching German and no additional schools even offered German for over two decades. On the contrary, from this time on German is offered by constantly fewer schools.

The year 1892 saw the closing of two more schools. thew's School, which had been moved to Maple Street in 1873, and of which the Otto School was now a part, continued to flourish until 1892 when Professor Havercamp, head of the school, aroused antagonism among the congregation and he left, conducting personally many of his students to the public school.74 The German-American School, which since its foundation had moved to Jackson Avenue and Chippewa Street, likewise ceased its activities this same year. In 1895 the Mater Dolorosa School in Carrollton closed, 75 and one year later the Presbyterian School on Claiborne Avenue shut its doors. 76

The Protestant School on Clio Street was also discontinued in 1896, "when our Church Council found that, owing to unfavorable circumstances, the continuation demanded greater financial sacrifices than the Congregation was able to bear."77

⁷² Hoffman, "German Education in Louisiana". College (New Orleans, 1904-1940).

**Evangelical Church, 57.

**Hoffman, "German Education in Louisiana", 41. Orleans, 1886-1904); Bulletins of Newcomb

⁷⁶ Ibid., 35. 77 Historical Sketch of the First Evangelical Church, 28.

The year 1900 saw the death of German in the oldest German school in the city. St. Paul's school on Burgundy and Port streets was founded in 1840 and German was used in instruction until 1883 when, because of the growing tendency of the young people to use the English language, due to their contacts with natives, English was gradually introduced. By 1893 almost all the instruction, except religious, was in English and by 1900 all German instruction ceased.78 This same year, the Evangelical school on Milan Street discontinued German. 79

In 1884, the Zion School, which had moved in 1866 to Franklin Avenue (now Loyola Street), near Jackson Avenue, and which had grown so large that it had to open a branch in 1869 on Chippewa and Fourth streets, built a central school at 3220 Carondelet Street, thus eliminating the expense of operating two schools. But in 1901 it had to close its doors because of financial difficulties. 80 Though it reopened in 1909, no German was taught. In 1901 the Emanuel School closed for the second time. 81

The Ueber private school was founded by the brothers Jakob and John Ueber in 1850. It had no usual summer vacation and except for the customary holidays, it was open for fifty-one years when it closed with John's retirement from teaching in 1901,82 four years after his brother's death.

St. Henry's School used German in nearly all of the classes until about 1900, after which time German was taught as an elective until 1906.83

St. Mary's School was under the supervision of the Redemptorist Fathers and the Sisters of Notre Dame. Neither of these have any record of the exact date when German teaching was discontinued in that school, but according to the latter, it was about 1910 or 1912.

In 1911 Loyola University opened and offered German continuously until 1918.84 The Deutsche Gesellschaft began agitation about this time for the introduction of German courses in the public schools and finally it was introduced into the curricula of the public high schools. It was rather well received, with a reason-

⁷⁸ Wegener, St. Paul's Congregation, 22.
79 Hoffman, "German Education in Louisiana", 31.
80 Ninetieth Anniversary of the Zion Lutheran Church, 15.
81 Hoffman, "German Education in Louisiana", 24. 82 New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 22, 1906. 88 Hoffman, "German Education in Louisiana", 41.

⁸⁴ Catalogues of Loyola University of New Orleans, (New Orleans, 1912-1918).

155

ably large number electing it, but the coming of the World War put an end to the project.

Finally, St. John's parochial school had to bow to the inevitable and also discontinued German in 1918.85

Thus, for the period of the World War, or in fact until the repeal of the act prohibiting German teaching in 1921, no German at all was taught in the city. Then, in 1922, Newcomb College again introduced it. Tulane University offered it again in 1927 and Loyola in 1933. All of these have continued teaching German since those dates.86 Meanwhile there was agitation again for German in the public schools and when the Alcée Fortier Boys' High School was opened in 1931 German was offered, but it was discontinued after the session of 1937-1938 because too few students were electing it. It was introduced at Sophie Wright Girls' High School in 1933, but was discontinued in 1938, also for want of sufficient students. During the 1932-1933 session, the Deutscher Schulverein, hoping to revive an interest in the language, introduced German in several of the grammar schools as an extracurricular subject, but due to its unpopularity it was discontinued during the 1936-1937 session.

At present only three schools in New Orleans offer German: Tulane University, Newcomb College and Loyola University.

The decline of the German private parochial schools was almost wholly due to the inauguration and growth of the public school system. It was natural that the majority of parents should utilize the free school system for their children, even though the fees in the other schools were very low. But the surprising thing is that, considering the large German population of the city, German was introduced in the public schools at so late a date and then only upon the instigation of an interested group.

Unfortunately, just as it was taking root, the coming of the World War in 1917, causing hates and prejudices to grow up among the populace, brought about a complete uprooting of German study in all of the schools. This reactionary movement crippled German teaching so severely and set it back so far that even today it has made no appreciable recovery.

Schoenhardt, Brief History of St. John's Congregation, 15.
 Loyola Catalogues, 1919-1940; Newcomb College Bulletins, 1919-1940; Tulane University Bulletins, 1919-1940.

Chapter V

THE THEATER

The earliest history of the theater in New Orleans is entirely French, due, of course, to the great French population of the city during the early part of the nineteenth century.87 Not until 1820 was the first English-language play produced in the city, and the German Theater did not begin until some nineteen years later when the "National Theater" was built on Baronne Street, (where today the De Soto Hotel is situated,) for the prime purpose of offering German plays.88

But aside from this theater and one built in 1865 in Lafayette. the "Deutsches Theater" referred not to buildings but to the productions themselves which were offered in nearly all the theaters in the city at various times. The troupes would give their plays in whatever theater or hall they were able to rent. Thus, advertisements for the German Theater in New Orleans would read, for example, "Deutsches Theater in d. neuen St. Charles Opera Hall, St. Charles Str. gegenüber Union."89

For that reason in discussing the German Theater and showing its decline we shall do so primarily from a quantitative point of view, indicating its rise and decline by the number of performances given each year.

During the Civil War, the theater in New Orleans, as were all forms of culture, was at an exceedingly low ebb. However, in the year 1865, according to the newspapers, some forty-one German plays were given, and five years later sixty-nine were offered. But in 1869 the prestige of the German Theater in New Orleans was greatly raised when a famous actress of the time, Fanny Janauschek, arrived and played with her troupe at the St. Charles Theater. 90 The New Orleans Times praised her performances in Cabale und Liebe and Medea very highly. Two years later, in 1871, the peak for all time was reached. During this year about one hundred twenty-eight German performances were offered in different theaters in New Orleans.

⁸⁷ New Orleans City Guide, 26.

^{**} Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung, December 23, 1864.

** Robert T. Clark, Jr., "Reconstruction and the New Orleans German Colony", in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXIII (1940), 501.

After this date the number steadily decreased and during the year 1874 no plays were given but there was one performance of the opera Wilhelm Tell.⁹¹ Just why there was this sudden interest in the theater and then a more sudden lack of interest is difficult to explain. One thing which may have attributed to its high popularity in 1871 is that by this time news had reached the city of the defeat of the French and the founding of the German Empire, and this had a unifying effect on the Germans here and gave them a prestige they had never before enjoyed. Another reason is that the three preceding years saw the greatest German immigration to New Orleans of any period since the Civil War.

The sudden decline in popularity may be attributed to the transient nature of a great number of immigrants who came here between the years 1868 and 1871. They did not remain to become citizens of New Orleans but went on to other points. Likewise, the fate which overtook all German culture in the city, as we have seen, simply struck the theater first, probably because it was less necessary and hence not generally supported.

The German Theater was kept alive for a time by some German-minded persons, but it never again achieved its earlier popularity. The highest point reached again was in 1878 when fifty-nine plays were given.⁹² The following year none was presented. From this time on the number fluctuated each year from none to eight until 1890, the last year of the German Theater in New Orleans, when six were given. Following this date, there was no more German Theater in the city except perhaps for some productions at irregular intervals by local amateur groups.

As mentioned before, these productions were given in any theater or hall which could be rented for the occasion, whether it was French, English or German. Some of the locations which appeared more prominently in the news of the German Theater were the "National Theater", "Washington Theater", "St. Charles Theater", "Varieties Theater", "Globe Theater", "American Theater", "Lafayette Theater", and the "Turnhalle". Plays were given in these places not only by traveling companies but also by the "Dramatische Gesellschaft", an amateur theatrical group, organized in the city in 1875 when the theater was at a low ebb. 93

⁹¹ Arthur H. Moehlenbrock, "Notes on the German Drama in New Orleans Theaters", (Unpublished).

⁹² Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

As to the authors, and the plays offered in the city during this period, we find, according to newspaper advertisements, that Kotzebue was the most popular. His Der gerade Weg ist der Beste was played several times. Die eifersüchtige Frau and Schneider Fips also were shown. Schiller, too, was very popular and his most frequently played piece was Die Räuber. Others of his works which appeared were Maria Stuart, Wilhelm Tell and Cabale und Liebe. His Don Carlos seems to have been given once.

Though Kotzebue seems to have been the most popular playwright of the time, yet Schiller was played more consistently. Kotzebue's popularity waned after about 1872 until 1880 when he was again revived. His last play, *Der Wirrwarr*, was given on October 14, 1888.⁹⁴ Schiller, on the other hand, appeared rather consistently until 1881. Fittingly enough, the last Schiller performance was his very popular *Die Räuber*, on April 10 of that year.⁹⁵

Some of the other plays which were shown during this period were: Uriel Acosta by Carl Gutzkow, Der bese Geist by Nestroy, Ein Theater Skandal by Nesmüller, Till Eulenspiegel by Nestroy, Grillparzer's Medea, and Der Schwarze Peter by Görner. Goethe's Faust appeared several times as did his Egmont.

The year 1890, the last in the history of the German Theater in New Orleans, saw only six performances of four plays. Das Lorle aus dem Schwarzwald by Pfeiffer was played on February 23.96 Der Probepfeil by Oskar Blumenthal appeared twice, on February 26 and March 2.97 There were also two presentations of Drei Paar Schuh', one on March 7 and the other on March 9.98 Das Milchmädchen von Schöneberg bowed out the German Theater on March 14.99

After 1865 the life of the German Theater in New Orleans was not a long one. The same factors which eventually brought to an end the German Press, German Church and German Education only struck the theater earlier but no more fatally. The following table was compiled to show the number of performances given each year from 1870 through 1890.

Ma Sonntageblatt der New Orleans Deutschen Zeitung, October 14, 1888.

⁵⁵ Ibid., April 10, 1881. 56 New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung, February 22, 1890.

or Ibid., February 25, 28, 1890. ■ Ibid., March 6, 9, 1890. ■ Ibid., March 14, 1890.

Year	rformances
1870	. 69
1871	.128
1872	. 96
1873	. 68
1874 Opera Wilhelm	n Tell
1875	. 16
1876	. 1
1877	. 40
1878	. 59
1879	. 0
1880	. 0
1881	. 1
1882	. 1
1883	. 0
1884	. 8
1885	. 3
1886	. 1
1887	. 3
1888	. 6
1889	. 7
1890	. 6

Chapter VI

ORGANIZATIONS

It is definitely known that there existed in the city, during this period, a number of German organizations, but except for one, the Deutsche Gesellschaft, there is little information available about these.

Concerning the Deutsche Gesellschaft there have been two histories written,¹⁰⁰ but these are not very illuminating. This group organized in 1847 for the relief of numerous Germans who were landing in New Orleans, destitute and helpless.¹⁰¹ It helped them through the customs, aided them to get passage in order to continue their journeys and obtained work for those who remained here. This continued to be its main work for many years, and

 ¹⁰⁰ J. Hanno Deiler, Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans (New Orleans, 1897); Rev. Louis Voss, History of the German Society of New Orleans (New Orleans, 1927).
 101 Voss, The German Society, 2.

then as immigration fell off the society became more and more inactive until by 1879 it had only seventy-four members.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, the society seems to have been comparatively wealthy as in 1890 its investments totaled \$19,489.103 Thus, it continued its existence and revised its charter in 1894 to read, "to attract German immigrants to New Orleans." By this time it not only aided immigrants but also resident German families; however, after this date information concerning the organization is meager and all we know is that it continued until about 1928.

Two more organizations which we know existed were the Turnverein, an athletic group, and the Männerchor, a singing club. All that we know about these is that, according to Mr. Charles Schindler, president of the Deutsches Haus at the present time, and the records of that institution, these two, together with the Deutsche Gesellschaft, merged to form the Deutsches Haus in 1928. A few miscellaneous ledgers and receipt books were all the information that could be found regarding these organizations.

All we can say then, is that the organizations lasted longer than any other German cultural institutions in the city, but their activities and influence seem to have been negligible in recent years. Perhaps, when more complete records of these institutions can be found, a more detailed study of the German organizations in New Orleans can be made.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

We have now treated the cultural institutions of the German colony in New Orleans from 1865 up to the present. We have seen that in a little more than half a century they rose to their maximum strength and then sank into total oblivion, with only a slight revival in the past few years. Even before the turn of the century these institutions were already dying out, and by 1918 they had expired. The first to disappear was the Theater in 1890, then the Press about 1909, and finally, almost simultaneously, the Schools and Churches in 1918.

Of course the dropping off of German immigration to New Orleans since the Civil War no doubt caused in part this diminish-

¹⁰² Ibid., 75.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 92.

ing influence of that national culture on our own life. But, when we realize that even today the German group in the city is the second largest of all foreign-born groups, we see that this cause was a minor one, particularly since some of these other groups still maintain some of their distinctive institutions.

The main cause, however, as indicated separately in each chapter, was that of the rapidly diminishing use of the German language. We noticed its influence first in the churches, which were originally entirely German. One congregation after the other had to introduce English services in order to hold their members. Soon the churches became entirely English-speaking and finally even the word "German" was dropped from their names. The process in the schools was the same, differing only in that very often the latter were forced to close. The operation of this force was not so apparent in the Theater but it was there, nevertheless. The Theater, more than any of these other institutions, had to depend on spontaneous and mass support for its continued existence and this support the German Theater in New Orleans did not have. Finally, this process undermined the Press and it collapsed, but not before one paper pointed out and discussed this erosive process, which was sapping the strength of all the German institutions in the city.105 Thus it was not an outside group or force, but the group of local Germans themselves, which brought about the death of their distinctive national institutions here.

Contrary to the belief of many, the Germans of that time were not a clannish group but were anxious to mix with the natives, adopt their mode of life, and more important, to adopt their language. And this they did voluntarily and with characteristic German thoroughness. This was done, however, not entirely out of inclination but also out of necessity. The German, though until comparatively recently an agricultural person, has a peculiar inherent business acumen and it was the business field which the New Orleans German entered. This he certainly could not successfully do without speaking the language of his potential associates. In the last analysis, his native culture was of less value to him than a means to earn his bread and meat, so he threw it off, and, except for a few die-hard old Germans, apparently without very much regret. Probably no other foreign-born group in the city so readily adapted themselves to the American way of life as did the Germans.

¹⁰⁵ Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung, April 14, 1907.

One thing more, however, must be emphasized and that is, that, contrary to the belief of many, the World War of 1917 did not annihilate the German institutions. Anti-German propaganda of the time did spread hate and prejudices against all things German and did bring about stringent laws suppressing the oral and written usage of the German language, but, as we now know, these institutions were already dying a natural death; the events of 1917 simply hastened their end and have now afforded the proponents of German institutions within our own civilization an argument to explain their present-day nonexistence.

On the other hand, the crisis of 1917-1918 did severely cripple German teaching as indicated in the chapter on education. It was inevitable, with the growth of free schools, that the German schools, per se, should disappear but it was not inevitable that the study of German culture and literature should cease. But, nevertheless, this latter was suppressed for three years and has only recently made slight headway in the local institutions of higher learning. But hardly can any appreciable advance be made in this until the study of German is made available once again to the younger people, and this burden must rest on the public schools. Of course, theoretically the study of German is still offered to the public, yet prevalent prejudices, which the present world crisis is doing little to alleviate, manages to keep the mass of people away from the language.

Not until the populace can think rationally and can draw the line between the political ideologies and selfishness of a numbered few and the cultural arts and philosophies of a whole people; not until it is generally realized that an American is no less an American by the study of a foreign language and literature, can prejudices against things German be broken down.

APPENDIX

The following tables indicate the approximate years when the German newspapers ceased publication and the schools and churches discontinued German.

The Newspapers

Louisiana Staatszeitung1	865
New Orleans Journal1	367
New Orleans Montagspost1	367

^{*} These churches at present still offer special German services.

St. Paul's1918
*Zion1918
St. John's
Emanuel Lutheran1918
The Schools**
Presbyterian School on First Street1883
Otto School
Zion School (Branch)
St. Matthew's School1892
German-American
Mater Dolorosa
Evangelical School on Clio Street
Presbyterian School on Claiborne Avenue
Evangelical School on Milan Street1900
St. Paul's School1900
Zion School1901
Ueber School
Emanuel School1901
St. Henry's School
St. Mary's School
St. Joseph's Asylum
Protestant Asylum1917
Bethlehem Asylum1917
Holy Trinity School
St. Boniface
Lutheran School in Algiers
St. John's School
Grammar Schools
Sophie Wright Girls' High School1938
Alcée Fortier Boys' High School1938
Loyola University

Newcomb College.....
Tulane University.....

^{**} From 1918 to 1921 no German was taught.

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GEORGE WASHINGTON CABLE'S LITERARY APPRENTICESHIP

By ARLIN TURNER

When Cable rode with the Confederate Cavalry in Mississippi, he was on the eve of manhood in years but little more than a boy in stature and appearance. A few weeks before joining the Fourth Mississippi Cavalry in 1863, he had passed from New Orleans through the Union lines as a "little brother" in the company of his two sisters. His formal education had come to an end with his graduation from high school at the age of fourteen; and when he enlisted, he had already launched a career in the business world as a clerk. Mustered out in 1865—not much the worse for a wound in the armpit and his two years of scurrying back and forth across northern Mississippi -Cable seized whatever employment he could find, for his widowed mother and her other children were in dire need. For a few weeks he was pathetically optimistic: he had stepped from his job as errand-boy in New Orleans to a position with a surveying expedition on the Mississippi and Red rivers. But his enthusiastic ambition to become an engineer was cut short by an attack of "breakbone fever." which was all but too severe for his frail constitution. Again he showed up at an accounting desk in New Orleans.1

The transformation of this cavalryman, surveyor, and countinghouse clerk into the author of "Sieur George" and "Belles Demoiselles Plantation" in the course of a few years—years of necessity spent mainly in faithful plodding through routine office work—this transformation was little short of phenomenal. A partial explanation of this evolving of the clerk into the author lies in Cable's early writings for the New Orleans Daily Picayune. The column entitled "Drop Shot," which he wrote for some eighteen months, was his proving ground. It afforded him ample satisfaction and it showed him where his ability lay. Among other lessons, Cable learned that he was not a poet.

¹ See L. L. C. Bikle, George W. Cable, His Life and Letters (New York, 1928), 12-37.

In the "Drop Shot" column we are able to follow Cable's first stumbling efforts as an author. We see evidence of his rapidly widening acquaintance among books, and we see him groping after some bases for judging authors and their writings. We have here a detailed log of the development of his mind as he became more aware of the local scene and local characters and as he began to speak out more plainly and more persistently for the righting of wrongs in the world around him. Here, indeed, appears in embryo much of what Cable was to become as man and as author.

The first column headed "Drop Shot" was printed in the Picayune on Sunday, February 27, 1870. During March and April the column was missing on three Sundays,2 but thereafter, except for four weeks late in the year,3 it appeared every Sunday morning until July 9 of the next year, when the author, always anonymous, bade farewell to his readers. For four weeks in 1871, February 21 to March 19, "Drop Shot" appeared also in each of the five week-day issues of the Picayune. On August 20, 1871, the paper carried a "Letter from Drop Shot," and for three weeks of the following year, February 11, 18, 25, the weekly column was revived. In all, then, Cable appeared as Drop Shot some eighty-eight times, his contributions ranging in length from half a column to over two columns, with the average slightly above one column.

During the later months in the life of his column Cable was also a reporter for the Picayune. He had left his clerk's desk and, so his writings indicate, considered himself permanently launched on a journalistic career. For a time, at least, he must have been valued as a reporter, for he was given a number of the most challenging local assignments—among them the highly controversial meetings of the Teachers Institute, the Mardi Gras performances, and the two visits of Horace Greeley.4 Furthermore, the mark of his mind is apparent in several editorials and essays in the nature of feature stories. But Cable was not to become a journalist. As Drop Shot he lamented the barbarian hunger of the public for news and decried more than once the ready willingness of the newspapers to dish up for general consumption items of no more

March 6; April 17, 24.
 Oct. 2; Nov. 13, 20; Dec. 18.
 See the *Picayune* for Feb. 22, 23, 26; May 16, 17, 18, 21, 1871. Hereafter references to the *Picayune* will be given by date only.

than trivial and transitory interest. He could not, or would not, train his nose to ferret out news. "I was naturally and emphatically unfit," he wrote later, "for the work of gathering up and throwing down heterogeneous armloads of daily news. I had neither the faculty for getting more news, nor the relish for blurting out news for news' sake after it was got."6

He wanted to write, not report. And his wish evidently won the temporary approval of his employers, for he was allowed to publish his column daily for four weeks, and, apparently, to supply additional familiar essays on such topics as "Dress and Brains," "The Slow Man," and "Rainy Days." But the editors could have from voluntary contributors all of such matter they cared to print, at little or no expense. The need was for routine reporting-of theatrical performances, among other things "I would not," so Cable remarked later on, "violate my conscientious scruples, or, more strictly, the tenets of my church, by going to a theatre to report a play. . . . So when the summer came on and they began to reduce expenses, it was intimated that my resignation would be accepted. I vowed I would never have anything to do with a newspaper again, and I went back to bookkeeping."8

Cable was not, however, through with newspapers, nor with the Picayune. For in addition to the "posthumous" appearances of Drop Shot, he wrote during the year 1872 a few book reviews for the same paper and at the request of the editor an attack on the Louisiana State Lottery Company¹⁰ and a series of "sketches" of the principal churches and charities of the city. 11 This last assignment introduced him to the history of early New Orleans and commenced the studies that were to prove so productive in his later writings.

⁵ See March 5, 1871.

⁵ See March 5, 1871.

⁶ Bikle, 39-40.

⁷ April 5, 6, 27, 1871. Articles on "The Bludso Hit" and "A Showman Interviewed" (May 21, 1871), among others, seem also to bear the stamp of Cable's mind.

⁸ Bikle, 40. George E. Waring wrote in 1882 that Cable had stipulated when he began working for the newspaper that he would not report theatrical performances ("George W. Cable," The Century Magazine, XXIII, 603 [Feb., 1882]). After leaving the Picayune, Cable-became accountant and corresponding clerk for William C. Black and Company and continued in this position until 1879 (bid.).

⁹ For the issue of July 14, 1872, Cable reviewed George H. Calvert's Goethe: His Life-and Works; see Bikle, 43.

¹⁰ Cable wrote two articles (Aug. 11, 25, 1872) attacking the lottery with all the force of thought and language he could muster. He castigated the lottery as a "heinous offense against society," a "crying sin," and a "subtle poison, that so cankers the morals of the rising generation." Cable's article was reprinted in full in another New Orleans paper, and another city-paper published a similarly virulent attack (see Bikle, 44).

¹¹ Ibid., 43.

What guided Cable in choosing the title to head his column can hardly be imagined; perhaps it is needless to look for anything more than a leaning as far as possible from the run of sentimentally romantic pseudonyms in the local papers. Any issue was sure to have two or three poems, letters, or sketches signed by such names as Rhoderick Dhu, Yamoka, Mignonette, Arathusa, and Tampa.

In writing his column. Cable appears to have had a free hand in both the choice of subjects and the nature of his comments. His topics range from the trivial to the momentous, from the solemn to the ludicrous, from the real to the fanciful. And in treatment he experimented constantly and widely. He turned from lugubrious elegies to jingling banter loaded with fantastic puns, and back again. One day he might turn out a didactic discussion of woman's dress; one day a masterful description capturing the very atmosphere of summer in the Crescent City; and the next a senseless letter in illiterate jargon. In fact, all of these might find their way into one column. Cable was taking advantage of the occasion to try his hand at every type and manner of composition. Writing was to be his profession-at least during part of the time he thought so-: and conscientious worker and rigorous self-disciplinarian that Cable was all his life, he doubtless set about to discover the realm of his chief ability. Nothing less could have been expected of the man who had studied Latin grammar and wrestled with problems in mathematics between the forays of his company in the Confederate cavalry.12

Half or more of the space in the "Drop Shot" columns is given over to literary discussion. Cable quoted freely from both earlier and contemporary poets and mentioned over fifty different authors in his discussions, referring several times to Poe, Tennyson, Milton, Shakespeare, Longfellow, Byron, Scott, Hawthorne, and Bacon. Some of these comments are serious attempts at literary appraisal, and taken together they reflect a widening acquaintance with the chief figures in English and American literature. Perhaps more significantly, they indicate that Cable had by no means abandoned the reading he had kept up as soldier and surveyor, and that he was applying himself earnestly to the task of broadening his knowledge.

¹³ See George E. Waring, "George W. Cable," The Century Magazine, XXIII, 602 (Feb., 1882).

One of the longest of these literary pronouncements appeared on July 17, 1870:

JOSH BILLINGS AND MARK TWAIN

Something moves us to say a few says about the two great jokers of our day and country. Not concerning them as they stand on feet, but as they run out on paper. We need not say they are very different, for everybody knows that; but there are just the fewest possible number of readers that inquire into the "how-came-you-so" of a popular wit or humorist; therefore, that shall be our present office.

It is not easy, when one is reading the Billings drolleries, to imagine them written by a man who has not been young for a long time. There is the humor and nonsense of the schoolboy, that makes the teacher laugh in spite of himself; there is the self-forgetfulness of a genuine fun-lover, that does not chime with the cracked ring and rheumatic laugh of an irongray man: yet, how can we imagine Josh a young man either, with that strange, old-farmer wisdom and droll, dry sense. No, we cannot fix the personal man of the Josh Billings we know in the papers these times. He belongs to another day the day when clowns were wondrous wise, and seasoned all their drolleries with the salt of truth and flavored with the wine of wisdom. He is the true, old-fashioned fool; i.e., faithful at once to Comus and Minerva-a very Yorick; and no place in our minds so fit for him as that high niche where time too old for memory rests.

Mark Twain is a man of the living to-day. With so much force of mind and energy of pen, with such practical sympathy with the themes and actions of the present, that his jesting betrays something of the tradesman's (for the world is one big tradesman now) restraint and method, and his humor must run a long way before it makes a summersault. There is almost too much of the Morgan horse in his build to make frolicking easy and natural.

If you would laugh at Mark you must first hear him through; but good old Josh is fun from first to last, and was born with the art of being wise and silly in a breath. Mark moves always with the laughing point of view as a goal, but Josh carries a thousand laughs with him, loaded like a Santa Claus.

It may be that the superior weight of mind is Mark Twain's, for his descriptions of Oriental scenery that are without humor are productions of rare beauty, and some of his humorous inventions show a power of satire that will compare favorably with writers of higher fame. They make a mistake to call his Frog story his masterpiece, and fail to apprehend the true genius of the man. We recall nothing that

173

so plainly shows at the best what Mark Twain is as the "Beef Contract." There is there an actual tangible something to make war against, and the sword of sarcasm flashes like fire as it falls upon the trickeries of the Government. He is too practical to be a Quixote, and only Josh Billings can be a Sancho Panza.

In point of moral tone, "sly old J. B." is certainly in advance, for while all that can be said of Mark Twain is that he writes little that has harm in it, his fellow joker is as full of goodness as a bunch of berries. His quaint saws and misspelt proverbs are better than Poor Richard.

While we have that misspelling in hand, let me say there is very little credit in it. However, others try and fail, and people will laugh as long as Josh Billings does it, though there's no more real wit in it than in a grimace; yet it is the vehicle of that quality of playfulness so necessary to a humorist: and this indeed is what is most notably lacking in Mark Twain.

If we had to part with one of them, it would not be easy to choose. As for us give us Josh Billings. Mark spins a good yarn, but Josh is such a blessed old fool.13

This preference for Josh Billings is understandable enough, for Cable was never oblivious to the presence or absence of a moral implication in anything he read. The comments here on misspelling and other illiteracies of language represent one step in the crystallization of his views on such tricks in the repertoire of the humorists. In introducing his character Felix Lazarus six weeks earlier, he had used a letter purportedly from Felix to Josh Billings, in which he had imitated the style and method of Billings throughout.14 On two or three subsequent occasions Felix was made to speak or write in the Billings manner. 15 Possibly Cable realized that his own efforts were halting and forced, for soon he had abandoned faulty spelling, and though still making free use of malapropisms and puns, he began to inveigh against misspelling as a part of the humorist's stock in trade.16

Quite understandably Bret Harte's The Luck of Roaring Camp received highly favorable comment from Cable.17 He considered it a masterly narrative and remarked that it had hardly been sur-

July 17, 1870.
 June 5, 1870.
 See June 12, 26, July 3, 1870.
 Once he quoted a letter from a reader, presumably fictitious, complimenting "Drop Shot" for his avoidance of bad spelling (Feb. 12, 1871), and later on he heartily condemned a contemporary versifier, Will M. Carleton, for submitting to the public's demands for illiteracies and crude language (June 4, 1871). 17 Feb. 26, 1871.

passed in the effectiveness of its didactic import—a literary judgment dictated in a large measure, as was usual with Cable, by his moral bias.

Among the poets considered in Cable's column, Swinburne, Poe, and Whitman posed controversial issues and so came in for fullest discussion. In an essay on "Tricking the Ear" by using various devices of sound for achieving poetic effects, Cable quoted from "The Bells" with condemnation and remarked, "No poetical writer ever so over-spiced his views with (tricks) as did Poe. A friend at our side mentions Swinburne, whom the reader will, no doubt, thank us not to quote."18 Twice more Swinburne is mentioned, each time in an unfavorable light. Once Cable commented that the name had appeared in newspapers as "Swine-burn," and added, "How near true!"19 He had not the slightest good word for Swinburne, but his judgments on Poe reflect a mixture of admiration and disapproval. After quoting once a friend's stricture that Poe was epicurean and without reverence for the soul, he wrote, "We move the following amendment: That if ever there was a man who could tinkle more heathen music, more bewildering harmony, more marvelous melody, and more meaningless ecstacy upon empty words, than the world of poets beside, that man was Poe. For songs without words, take Mendelssohn; but for songswild, unearthy, ravishing—without music, take Poe."20

Cable handled Walt Whitman much more roughly. In an essay with the suggestive title "Sawed Stuff" Whitman's poems are cited as representative of the contemporary machine age, with all its crude formlessness. Whitman, "one of the heavier workers," has produced "sawed stuff," poems to correspond to the slabs relegated to the waste heap at a sawmill. "Here runs the grain," Cable continued, "and here the rip-saw has gone right through it; here is heart and here sap; here's a bad edge and—the whole thing is rough, wet, angular and—'straight as a stick.'" As a final touch Cable damned a recent poem which he thought deserving of highest opprobrium, by saying that it had been dedicated, "like a returning curse," to Whitman.21

In these views Cable possibly did little more than echo one element of popular judgment, but others of the columns reflect a serious attempt to arrive at some tenets for himself as reader and

Aug. 28, 1870.
 March 7, 1871.
 May 22, 1870.
 April 30, 1871.

writer. A preponderance of his literary pronouncements are on poetry and poetic method. In fact, a dozen or more of his columns he gave over largely to a series of essays on the poetic art. he felt called upon to justify these articles and said that he wrote most about poetry because he thought most on poetry22—a remark doubtless to be taken literally, for at the time he considered himself a poet, at least a poet in the making. The tone of his remarks well on into 1871 are unmistakable evidence that Cable considered his pronouncements on poetry to be an analysis of his own writ-True, he spoke with fitting modesty of his own efforts, once admitting the inappropriateness of his dogmatic assertions as to what poetry should be and should not be. Again, he apologized for setting poor examples, but maintained that there was no reason why he should not propound high standards.23 Later still, he penned a scorching attack on those who insist on writing and publishing verse, though they lack inspiration, which he considered an indispensable requisite; and he added that those who have feelings and the urge to embalm them in print should limit themselves to fantastic or grotesque extravaganzas like the one which he printed below.24

In the conventional manner, Cable lamented several times the lowly estate of the poet. He believed that the poet could either "fill the world's mind and starve, or fill the world's stomach and [his] own fists."25 One of his estimates of Poe concludes, "Alas for him! Of all the children of earth that fall into snares of error, let the poet have the charity. Passion, the very principle of his life; Fancy, his sister; Poverty, his evil genius; Calculation and Discipline unknown to him; how often is he more a victim than a criminal! Let charity for him be large."26

Cable's thinking on the poetic art cannot be called profound; in fact, he showed himself to be about as uninspired in criticizing as in composing verse. But he did not hesitate to pitch into the most provocative matters, nor do his statements lack positiveness. The charge of plagiarism against a poet he felt to be foolish, and he added that he frequently eliminated expressions from his own poems for fear they were unconsciously remembered from his reading.27 Likewise he passed definitive judgment on the refrain,

² Sept. 18, 1870. ³ Ibid. ³ Dec. 4, 1870. ⁵ Jan. 8, 1871. ³ May 22, 1870. ³ July 31, 1870.

which he thought should be used to contribute to the melody or to add significance to the meaning. Either use would be legitimate if not abused, and, as was his custom, he marshaled names and quotations to show both wise and unwise uses.28 Punning he defended as an allowable but inferior tool of the poet.29 Rime, alliteration, and similar devices of sound he considered essentially subordinate and to be used with moderation.30 Here he could not pass over the opportunity for another thrust at Swinburne by saying that he misused atrociously these legitimate devices. 31 On different occasions Cable remarked on the weakening effect of adjectives in either prose or poetry; 32 the importance of a good beginning for any composition; 88 the necessity for a poet to be inspired; the poet's province as to convey inspiration to the masses;34 and the prostitution of the poetic art for commercial gain.85

In the course of his miscellaneous literary comments Cable found occasion to lament dishonest book reviews, laying at the door of the newspapers and magazines the blame for breaking faith with their readers by printing the publishers' glowing praise of mediocre books.36 He regretted that in the public taste the essay and the ode and the sonnet had been supplanted by novels and sundry "new-sensations." As time passed, Cable noticeably came to think of himself as an informal essayist and something of a messiah leading the far-straying public back to thoughtful reading and meditation, away from trivial news and the corrupted and corrupting writing that was making such an energetic effort to keep pace with the world of money and materialities. it was regrettable that authors felt and bowed to the current demand for startling titles and corresponding matter and style. His readers, he reminded them, should ask always, "Is this worth reading?" The demand for what is true had been superseded by the search for what is new, and the newspapers had unworthily devoted themselves to heaping up great stores of raw matter for public consumption. It might be better, he suggested, if we could not read, for then we might be driven "for a time to that inward

^{**} Aug. 7, 1870.

** Aug. 14, 1870.

** Aug. 14, 1870.

** Aug. 28, 1870; March 7, 1871.

** Sept. 18, 1870.

** Sept. 11, 1870.

** Sept. 11, 1870.

** March 3, 1870.

** March 3, 1870.

** March 7, 1871.

** March 9, 1871.

inquiry so shamefully out of style just now."38 Then in his farewell column, he recommended the reading of old books, but not to the exclusion of worthwhile new additions. He praised Taine, Scott, Tennyson, Milton, Emerson, and Malory and hastened to justify the reading of novels, stating that, like the parables of the Bible, which are fiction pure and simple, novels often teach morals.39 This plea, all the more significant because Cable had grown up in a home where novels were strictly forbidden, 40 represents an early broadening of his mind and presaged his later admission of the drama into the pale of the acceptable.

While masquerading as "Drop Shot", Cable printed sixty-odd poems of his own, the majority of them representing serious effort but many of them sheer nonsense concocted to fill space. He used puns by the dozens, incorporated jokes and parodies and conundrums, made use of countless novelties of thought and method, and often evidenced a painful striving for cleverness. But there can be no doubt that Cable took his poetry seriously and that he had the satisfaction of receiving praise for some of his efforts. Two of his poems he printed a second time, with the statement that they had been requested by readers who failed to save the issues in which they first appeared. And at a later date he proposed to publish a volume of his writings for the Picayune, probably to include mainly his poems, but he failed to secure a publisher.42

In writing his verse, Cable was following a vogue of his time and presumably answering a public demand. Hardly a week-day issue of the Picayune failed to carry one or two poems, and each Sunday issue printed half a dozen or more. Some of them were reprinted from national or British authors, but at least half were produced locally, signed as a rule with fanciful pen names. did not escape altogether the current leaning toward conventionalized love lyrics, but he only bordered on the fatal sentimentality that blighted the host of newspaper versifiers of his time. deed, he satirized more than once the conceits and emotional extravagance of contemporary poems. Here is an example, printed soon after the beginning of his column:

³⁶ See March 5, 19, April 2, 1871.

July 9, 1871.

See Bikle, 8; Waring, "George W. Cable," The Century Magazine, XXIII, 604 (Feb., 1882).

41 Sept. 25, 1870.

42 See Bikle, 42.

We take pleasure in offering to the sentimental public our large and fine collection of new, cheap and fashionable sonnets. Being our own manufacturers, we are enabled to offer our poetry at the lowest price. A fine selection of "Lines to ——" always on hand, with blank spaces for name, color of eyes and hair, etc. Some very cheap acrostics to Mary, below cost. Odes made to order. Epitaphs of the most recherché style. Orders for serenades filled with promptness and taste. Also a large stock of imported stuff altered to the latest fashion. Extinct poetry revived, with or without embellishments. Drop orders in Post Office ladies' delivery.⁴³

Cable's poetic realm was all-inclusive. His religious and moral slant was never in the background for long, and he was especially fond of drawing a fitting moral from some incident or natural phenomenon. Perhaps his best efforts are nature poems, several of which evidence restraint, sobriety, finish, and an uncommonly discriminating observation. The two short poems below are representative:

MID-JUNE

'Tis balmy evening in the golden June; The shadows venture from the oaks again, At hide and seek to tempt the tardy moon. In elfin silence on the quiet plain. Across the level land, in habits gray, The magic place of twilight spreads its wings, And from the slender poplar's topmost spray, The mocking-bird his wondrous numbers flings-Beside, all sound is hushed, yet lingers he, The matchless master of the woodland choir— To sound again their glad doxology With finer notes and more impassioned fire. And now all's hushed—he takes his silent flight. On eager wing the last dove homeward flees. And fondly to her glittering breast the night Draws up the drenched moon from hidden seas: A softer charm of perfume fills the breeze. And in the west flares out the dying light; There spreads o'er sky and plain and voiceless trees The glory of a southern summer night.44

⁴³ May 1, 1870; see also Aug. 7, 21, 1870. ⁴⁴ June 26, 1870.

DYING MARCH

How still and low the silent evening lieth Upon her early couch of tinted mist, And ever and anon a west wind sigheth, A gentle, deep, despairing sigh; and hist!

How grievously the dark'ning forest moaneth; Not loud, but with a moan of constant woe. The willow leaneth on the oak and groaneth, And timid shadows mildly come and go.

Now on the cheek of eve the rose hue faileth; In beauteous grief she turneth quite away. Sad, lingering in the east, the pale moon paleth, And seemeth, with her face upturned, to pray.

And now the trees, the zephyrs cease their sighing, The frightened shadows through the darkness flee, Alone are left, to watch young March adying, The tearful, silent night and whispering sea.

The woe-struck night, her lustrous eyes o'erflowing With plenteous tears bedewing all the plain, The restless sea, forever coming, going, Soft singing to himself to hide his pain.

The ghostly hours steal singly to the deathbed, As favored slaves a dying heir to see; They slowly come and pass—his latest breath's sped In one sweet sigh—so come my death to me.

The April morn will wake upon the morrow, And start and stare with vague, uncertain fears, Swim her sweet eyes in undefined sorrow And red bestreak her pretty face with tears.

But soon the fickle airs, her grief beguiling, Will fast forget their sighs of yesterday; The child, through dewy eyes divinely smiling, Will join their pranks and sing their roundelay.

The fresh'ning woods will rear her choicest bowers: The evening linger with her in their shades; The sunny plains will bring her early flowers, And spring birds chant her choral serenades. Only the night will weep beside the willows, And heaving ocean moan with humbled crest, The mad-cap march that wrestled with his billows, And sank to slumber on his rugged breast.⁴⁵

Cable's social awareness and his didactic point of view are illustrated in the following lines, which are more than suggestive of Thomas Hood:

THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR

Shall we sit beside the window?

The morn is leaden gray,

And the leafless trees seem pleadingly

To motion us away.

But the poor are out and stirring
Along the drenched street,
And their children patter through the rain
With naked heads and feet.

You can hear their voices faintly
Against the window cast,
Like a recollection calling from
A wild and painful past.

And their little hardened faces
Are full of reckless glee.
Ah! the way they bear their misery
It moves my heart to see.

For there's not a sight so painful
In the reach of heaven's grace,
As a look of sad experience
Upon an infant's face.

For it tells the whole sad story
Of a home without a sire,
And the bitter desolation
Of a hearth without a fire.

Shall we sit beside the window,
With work to do without?
Hark! the shipwrecked poor in drowning raise
A wild, despairing shout.

[#] Sept. 25, 1870.

And they strive to lift their children Above the raging sea; Who, who can shut his ear against The tempest-stifled plea?

Shall we sit and sigh, contented
To reach a languid hand
To those whom waves, less cold than we,
Fling dying on the land?

When their children cry with hunger,
And shiver in the wind,
Will they cross the snows of acquaintanceship
And beg us to be kind?

Will they hunt us in our mansion?
Will they hunt us in our path?
But they feel their courage fail to hunt
The poor man from his lair.

Oh, the light hearts and the merry,
That easily can wait,
Till the poor child comes like Lazarus
And lays him at the gate!

Oh, the good work all unfinished,
Had been finished long ago,
If our hands had sought the hidden poor,
And drawn them from their woe.46

For something like fifteen months Cable supplied a poem every Sunday, almost without fail; so, to fulfill his weekly obligation, he printed a good amount of sheer extravaganza—attempts at humorous verse that most often can make no claim except to ingenuity or plain absurdity.

It seems, though, that toward the end of "Drop Shot's" career Cable became convinced that his talent did not lie in poetry. Once he all but admitted that he had no business attempting anything beyond extravagant humorous rimes,⁴⁷ and half a dozen or more of his later columns appeared without poetry and, significantly, without his customary apology to his readers for the omission. His relinquishing the role of poet may have been partly due to his increased leaning toward the essay and his growing inclination toward didacticism.

⁴⁶ May 1, 1870. ⁴⁷ Dec. 4, 1870; see Sept. 18, 1870.

In prose style Cable was slowly finding himself, trying his pen on all conceivable experiments. And the haste of a journalist with a column to fill at any cost is much in evidence. Yet, there are frequent instances of the economy and the disarming simplicity characteristic of his later works. To balance the passages of painful striving for cleverness, the puns, the expressions tortured in the direction of wit, the strained sarcasm and satire, there are patches of sensitive description and straightforward narration. In one essay he approached the success of his later writings or of Lafcadio Hearn's sketches in capturing the atmosphere and the tone of life during sticky summer days in New Orleans. Again, his description of a boat excursion by night on a bayou down by the Gulf anticipates some of the best passages in his later work:

A PHOSPHORESCENT SEA

The luminous condition of the sea at times, everybody knows to be owing to the presence of incalculable numbers of animalcule, and the waters of the Mexican Gulf are almost more or less lighted by their presence. The night we mention was one of delightful temperature, the sky brilliantly studded with stars—the moon was to rise about midnight. There was just breeze enough to give a motion of life to the waters of the broad and beautiful bay, and, where it shoaled toward the beach, to lay them in luminous folds of noiseless ripple sliding up the snowy sands. Never did we behold so beautiful an aspect upon the face of nature. The little sloops that lay on the placid water here and there, awaiting the rising of the moon, had a gentle undulation hardly to be called motion; yet every time their soft touch fell upon the ripples, a circle of gold swelled out and out upon the dark sea, burning fainter and fainter, until it was counfounded with the twinkle of the stars.

The oars of our boat (we were a rowing party) as they entered the water seemed to light each separate drop for a yard or more around with a pale green lustre, and as they were lifted again and swung forward, literally dripped with fire. There was nothing that the water could touch but was gilded with a brilliancy beyond the skill of the burnisher. The path of the boats immediately behind us rolled and unrolled like the smoke of a midnight conflagration, while the very bits of drift that we passed scintillated like a frosting of green and gold.

To heighten still further the delights of the scene, the sea was alive with fish that streaked the darkness beneath, as

⁴⁸ June 26, 1870

they darted here and there, with long tails of heatless light. Every moment a school of mullet would rise to the surface and turn the sea up like a great bed of red hot ashes.

Then, in all the glory of her silver splendor, the moon rose right out of the black horizon, and casting a network of silver over the whole expanse, set free the white wings of her midnight merrymakers and assumed her dominion over the sea and the night.49

Cable's attempts at dialogue were only moderately successful, but it is significant that already he was making the attempt—and that he saw the possibility of using Creole and Negro dialect.

Significant as anything else in these journalistic writings is the revelation that Cable was sensitively aware of his surroundings and that he saw there matters worth writing about—the melee at the railway station as the variegated populace of the city embarked for the summer vacation, 50 the quiet days he passed by the seashore, 51 the summer evening on the balconies of the Vieux Carré,52 the old fort and the ruins of an early Jesuit indigo farm.53 That he had become aware of the literary possibilities afforded by the history of his city and state is made evident from remarks on "Material for Poems" in his column of February 25, 1872:

Louisiana's brief two centuries of history is a rich and profitable mine. Here lie the gems, like those new diamonds in Africa, right on top of the ground. The mines are virgin. Choctaw legends and Spanish adventures may be found overlying each other in profuse abundance. Only one man, if I know aright, has culled among these nuggets.⁵⁴ The historian of Louisiana—like that Indian hunter of Potosi who, in chasing after the living things of the ground's surface, unearthed its silver with the upturning of a sapling—in following the annals of colonization, has uncovered the mines of romance. But the half, I am sure, has not been told; and I have sent Felix down—had to—couldn't find any commissioned poet to offer the business to—to see what he can gather up without digging, just in his two hands, so.

Only the incentive of expected publication was needed to drive him to the archives for frames into which to weave the details of New Orleans life he was ever storing up in his mind.

⁴⁹ Aug. 21, 1870. ⁵⁰ June 26, 1870. ⁵¹ Aug. 14, 21, 1870. ⁵² June 26, 1870.

⁵⁸ March 20, April 4, 1870.

⁸⁴ A reference to Charles Etienne Arthur Gayarré.

Cable's interest in local and timely matters, however, was not solely or mainly that of a historian or an author searching for raw materials, or even of a reporter, but rather that of an alert and active citizen. In the first issues he was feeling his way and remained noncommittal; but after attaining more ease and confidence, he did not hesitate to pass judgment on every issue that arose. True, his comments on the lotteries,55 public amusements on the Sabbath, 56 the State Legislature and corrupt politics, 57 the public schools,58 and Negroes in the horsecars59 were frequently indirect and guarded, but he had his say. He found space for satiric remarks on local financiers who were saddened and enlightened by experiences with the stock market, 60 on the admirers of Napoleon III,61 and on various insignificant local happenings. In certain local matters, moreover, Cable made use of his column to take an active stand, urged on, no doubt, in part by civic consciousness and in part by his increasing devotion to reform. support his constant plea for artistic and cultural betterment in the city, he lent active assistance to several movements and inaugurated others. Among these were efforts in behalf of a quarterly for New Orleans, a literary society, an art gallery, an annual lecture series, and the teaching of music in the schools.62

Of matters not purely local Cable showed a similarly marked awareness-especially during the weeks he supplied a column Then it was his habit to fill his space largely with comment prompted by his reading in current publications. Current songs, contemporary authors and artists, inventions, patent medicines, the war in Europe, corrupt government in the South, the death of Robert E. Lee, and countless other matters came in for mention.63 All along, too, he showed an alertness to the follies of society and enlisted himself in the cause of reform. He declaimed against wigs and fads in dress, even against walking canes. 64 On the question of woman's rights he avoided an unequivocal commitment, though he discussed it three or four times. He conceded that women were entitled to more rights than the social structure allowed them, but he failed to specify what such

Jan. 15, 1871.
Dec. 25, 1870.
Feb. 27, Oct. 27, 1870; Jan. 1, Feb. 19, March 15, 1871.
June 26, 1870.
Aug. 28, 1870.
Feb. 2, 1871.
Feb. 24, 1871.

Sept. 25, 1870; April 2, 9, 11, 16, 23, 1871.

May 1, Oct. 16, Nov. 27, 1870; Jan. 1, 29, Feb. 12, March 1, 16, 1871.

March 27, June 26, 1870; Jan. 22, 1871.

rights might be and implied that most of what they were demanding was absurd. He did grant that they had a right to more goodness, more cultural accomplishments, more sensible dress, and more ability to take care of themselves.65 Again and again he bemoaned the dearth of worthy authors,66 despite the promise shown in the schools, and lamented the vogue of worthless and harmful reading.67 The mad pursuit of money, with the accompanying sacrifice of higher accomplishments, elicited his warm and repeated condemnation, especially in the late issues, where he undertook with more earnestness the task of preaching thoughtful living and sweetness and light.68

These writings of Cable's apprenticeship are significant, perhaps most of all, because they comprise something of a prologue to his later writings on the Creoles and the Negro question. Late in life he asserted that in his early years he thought as his neighbors thought on the problems of the South, 60 and with inconsequential reservations these writings bear out his assertion. Some of his strictures against "Yankees" are as severe as anyone in the South could have asked for. His strongest denunciation came in his discussion of the attempts being made in the North to make religious training compulsory in the public schools. He considered the effort aimed against the Catholics and the Jews and branded it as "plain, flat-handed persecution, behind the age and unworthy of an enlightened people."70 In regard to the Negroes he objected that separate horsecars were not provided for them not wholly to aid in the segregation of the race but partially to save the blacks from needless embarrassment and abuse at the hands of the whites.71

Just as his attitude toward the Negro and toward the North appears normal for the Deep South in the early 1870's, similarly there is no indication of anything but friendliness toward the Creoles and some understanding of their life and culture. Of course, he could not be expected to attack the Creole people in his column, whatever his views, but the evidence is overwhelming that he was hardly aware of them as a distinct race and that his attacks on social abuses were directed at no group. His thrusts

<sup>May 15, 29, June 12, July 31, 1870.
Oct. 23, 1870.
March 5, 9, July 9, 1871.
See May 14, 28, June 11, 25, 1871.</sup>

See Bikle, 155-56.
 June 26, 1870. See also April 2, 1871.

n Aug. 28, 1870.

at dances and plays minced no words, for the influence of his strict upbringing and his training in the Presbyterian Church was so strong that he lost his balance in thinking of "those profoundly silly stage tricks and worse spectacular displays of the day" and the "stupid hops." But such protests, like those against intemperance and illiteracy, are no more than the pleas of a reforming citizen on a crusade against whatever he sees in need of remedy.

The "Drop Shot" columns are devoid of direct autobiographical notes except for passing references to the author's summer vacations by the Gulf,78 a trip to Biloxi by boat,74 his bringing from the woods shrubs for his garden, 75 his experiences as debater and as editor of his high-school paper,76 his hours in the Picayune composing room,77 daily matters of routine such as getting up in the morning and riding the horsecars,78 and the duties of a clerk in a cotton house. 79 Yet, some characteristic of the Cable revealed in his later writings crops out in almost every paragraph. His interest in music is evident, and his references to both composers and their works suggest a fairly wide acquaintance. 80 Likewise his study of the Bible is echoed in almost every column; allusions are plentiful, and on at least two occasions he went into minute discussions of Biblical topics.81 His moral bias is always in the foreground and colors every poem or essay. Some of his poems are purely religious utterances, and his invectives against war, idlers, dancing, the lottery, and swearing derive from his moral outlook. Here is repeated expression of his plea for simplicity and leisurely meditation,82 and also a statement of his belief that everything has a place and a beauty and that it is man's duty to be happy83—a belief that was to develop into the guiding philosophy of his later life.

⁷² April 2, May 28, 1871. ⁷³ Aug. 14, 21, 1870. ⁷⁴ June 26, 1870.

⁷⁵ July 3, 1870.

^{**} Feb. 28, March 4, 1871.

** Feb. 28, 1871.

** Feb. 22, March 2, April 23, May 22, Aug. 28, 1871.

** June 5, 1870.

^{**}See May 14, Aug. 20, 1871.

**E See May 14, 1870; March 10, April 16, 1871.

**May 14, 28, June 11, 1871.

**Aug. 14, 1870.

NEW ORLEANS LYNCHINGS OF 1891 AND THE AMERICAN PRESS

By J. ALEXANDER KARLIN

Judge Lynch was active in the United States in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Consequently most of the 185 lynchings reported in 1891 attained only local fame. One, however, was raised to the status of an international cause célèbre. Known now as the Italo-American incident of 1891, it was foreshadowed by the sawed-off shotguns which poured their deadly loads into one David C. Hennessy, superintendent of police of New Orleans, on the night of October 15, 1890. Five months later almost to the day eleven of the alleged gunmen and their employers, all supposedly members of that fear-inspiring Sicilian organization, the Mafia, were bullet-riddled victims of a genteel mob's anger. What a jury had failed to accomplish, amid charges of bribery and intimidation, the outraged "best" citizens did.1

Telegraphed reports of the events of March 14th created great excitement in official and diplomatic circles in Washington and in the country at large. The shock was intensified because most people had paid little or no attention to the trial of the Italians, and consequently knew practically nothing about the details of the crime with which they were charged, or the evidence which had been introduced against them.2 The press at once featured gory accounts of the outbreak, which drew the attention of editorial writers on virtually every influential American daily. The differences in the opinions about the lynchings were marked, ranging from bitter denunciation to hearty approval and including most of the intermediate positions. Naturally these views were influenced by the attitudes of their authors toward government and law and by their political leanings and racial and sectional prejudices.

Part A-Arguments Pro and Con

The assailants of the action of the New Orleans crowd selected their weapons from a well-equipped armory.

¹ See John E. Coxe, "The New Orleans Mafia Incident", Louisiana Historical Quarterly, 20: 1066-1109 (1937). ² Chicago Inter-Ocean, March 28, 1891. An examination of a number of newspapers corroborates this opinion.

Both the outbreak and the conditions which allegedly produced it evoked much censure. The prevalent note in these criticisms was a deep distaste for the institution of lynching. It was held that, even though the provocation of the people of New Orleans admittedly had been "almost beyond human endurance", "mob violence can never be excused". Furthermore, although the slain may have deserved death, the populace of New Orleans committed "one of the bloodiest and most brutal butcheries on record" by "engaging en masse in shooting down a lot of defenseless men like so many dogs."6 As the Philadelphia Press phrased it: "Humanity recoils from the sight of helpless prisoners, however guilty they may have been, slaughtered by a blood-thirsty mob". The frightfulness of the outbreak, moreover, was intensified in the eyes of the critics by their doubt as to the conclusiveness of the evidence against the accused in the Hennessy case. According to the St. Louis Republic, the eleven were slain "on proof of being 'dagoes' and on the merest suspicion of being guilty of any other crime."8

Another method of criticism, which was participated in by defenders of the outbreak also, was to demand rhetorically to know "what good has been accomplished" by the lynchings, and whether the citizens of New Orleans had "accomplished any great administrative reform."10 The questions were accompanied by urgings that New Orleans enact law reforms.11 The New York World reflected this view well. After asserting that the worst possible way to repress crime in a community is to commit it, the editorial urged the people to band together to achieve constructive reforms of their local institutions.12 It was also asserted that the events had lessened respect for the law.18

The deprecators of the outbreak also expressed the fear that it would be harmful internationally. Not only would it "degrade

⁸ Philadelphia Press, March 15; New York Post, March 17; Brooklyn Eagle, March 14; and Philadelphia Public Ledger, March 16. (All the dates in this article are understood to

^{*} See comment of Philadelphia Press below. Nashville American, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 19. After denouncing it as "inhuman and bloody" the Charleston News and Courier, March 16, called it the "bloodiest chapter in the history of New Orleans".
 Baltimore Sun, March 16.

^{*} Baltimore Sun, March 16.

* March 15.

* March 15. See also New York Continent, March 15; Boston Globs, March 16; Hartford Courant, March 16; and Savannah News, March 15.

* Chicago Herald, March 15; and Springfield (Mass.) Republican, March 19.

* Washington Post, March 16.

**Dallas News, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 20.

**March 16.

¹⁸ Indianapolis Sentinel, March 16.

the United States in the eyes of the other civilized nations",14 but it was also likely to entangle this country in a quarrel with Italy. 15 In addition, if the United States betraved its inability to protect foreign subjects in this country, it could "neither expect nor demand" protection for Americans abroad.16

The critics of the Crescent City also launched a heavy metaphysical attack on mob law. The latter was denounced as the "worst kind of tyranny", 17 and as a "despotism more hideous than that of any single despot, because it has more heads and more hands."18 Aghast at its existence, the Atlanta Constitution expressed the opinion that it was preferable "to allow a few criminals to go unpunished than to plunge society into anarchy under the reign of the mob."19

The theorists also emphasized that the New Orleans crowd had created a dangerous precedent; that is, "Justify mob violence today, and it must be justified tomorrow."20 Various corollaries were deduced from this principle. The New Orleans Republican asked whether justice had not been intimidated rather than strengthened, declared that when mob violence flourished with popular support, "society rests upon uncertain grounds, and all government has no claim beyond the passing hour," and inquired in conclusion: "What man knows who may lead the next mob or who its victims may be?"21 In regard to this last point the New York Tribune declared that in such a community the life of no man was safe, because a personal enemy could create a popular belief that he was guilty of a crime,22 presumably against either the laws or the mores. The Hartford Courant added that two of the defects of lynch law are that "it lacks in discrimination, and its blunders are irreparable."28

In many of the editorials—especially those written almost immediately after the affair—the emphasis was laid on the first argument, that of brutality. This revulsion against lynching had been developed by its use against Negroes. The strong condemnation of many northern journals was matched by a number

¹⁴ Indianapolis Sentinel, March 16; New York Post, March 16; New York Press, March 15; and Indianapolis Journal, March 17.

15 Chicago Inter-Ocean, March 16; and Detroit Free Press, March 15.

16 Washington Post, March 16.

17 Deseret News (Salt Lake City), March 16.

18 Boston Transcript, March 16.

19 March 15.

20 New York Herald, March 15.

21 Quoted in Chicago Inter Ocean, March 26.

22 March 16.

23 March 16.

of the southern, to which lynchings were a source of embarrassment. Nevertheless other papers which might have criticized the populace of New Orleans for lynching helpless Negroes, were silent now, in view of the alleged Mafia connections of the slain. Comparatively few of the critics of the outburst expressed open sympathy for the Italians, however, and many attacked the Mafia.

The defenders of the people of the Crescent City also employed both practical and philosophical arguments. One of the most favored of the contentions based on an examination of the facts was that there had been severe provocation; this was admitted even by severe critics of the outbreak,24 who based their opposition on other grounds. It was asserted that this provocation was

most deep, a provocation the like of which has never been known to American shores. Before the people of New Orleans are judged and condemned it will be well to attempt a realization of the reign of terror which fettered the city, its terrible chains which it seemed only a popular uprising could break.25

Second, the eleven who were put to death by the mob were guilty of the crime for which they had been tried.26 The failure of the jury was caused primarily by a dread of the vengeance of the Mafia,27 although the official contention was that some members had been bribed.

Third, the outbreak was a warning to evildoers. It contained a lesson for the "unscrupulous court and attorney, for the jury-briber and the corrupt juryman."28

Fourth, life and property were safer in New Orleans after the outbreak than they had been previously or would have been if the acquitted criminals had been released.29 Furthermore, it was intimated that the Mafia was no longer as bold as it had been. 30 In this connection, the Cincinnati Times-Star, after showing the dangers of a Mafia reign of terror subsequent to the

^{**} For example, see Chicago Herald, March 15; Springfield Republican, March 15; and Wilmington (Del.) Republican, March 16. Also see above.

**SWashington Post, March 17. See also Alta California (San Francisco), March 17; Minneapolis Tribune, March 15; and St. Paul Pioneer Press, March 16.

**See New York Times, March 18; Denver Republican, March 15.

**San Francisco Chronicle, March 15.

**Cincinnati Commercial Gasette, March 19. See also New Orleans Times-Democrat, March 15; and Richmond (Va.) State, March 16.

**New York Times, March 17.

**Albany (N. Y.) Journal, March 16.

verdict, concluded "that the innocent might live determined that those who had been accused, whether convicted or not, must die."81

The seemingly inevitable pragmatic contention that Judge Lynch has unvaryingly intervened in the event of the failure of the law to protect the peaceful citizen and would continue to do so "always" was made. Consequently "hours spent in moralizing cannot change the dread fact. . . . "32

Perhaps the most effective weapons of the apologists for New Orleans were philosophical, however. Various offshoots of the "doctrine of self-protection and self-preservation,"33 and its twin, the "sovereign excuse of necessity,"34 were popular among the journalists.35 The New Orleans Times-Democrat presented only the barest outline in asserting: "Desperate diseases require desperate remedies. . . . Our justification was—necessity; our defense is—self preservation, nature's primal law."36 An expansion of this theory was provided by the San Francisco Chronicle, which argued as follows:

. . . We cannot deny that the safety of society is the thing of paramount importance, and that if it cannot be secured under and by means of the forms of law, it must be secured without them. No one will deny there may be times when it is the duty of good citizens to disregard the letter of the law in order to carry its reason and spirit into execution, and although the remedy is a desperate one, its propriety can no more be questioned than its efficiency.

It then applied its logic to the alleged facts of the New Orleans situation:

The existence of a secret organization of murderers and assassins seems to have been conclusively demonstrated New Orleans had its choice, either to overstep the bounds of the law or to live in constant terror of lawless and conscienceless aliens who regard murder as a duty and assassination as a pasttime, and its people took the heroic remedy and exterminated the assassins.37

March 16.

Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock), March 20.

^{**} Memphis Appeal-Avalanche, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 18.

** San Francisco Chronicle, March 17.

** For other examples, see Kansas City Journal, March 15; Salt Lake Tribune, March 15; and Pittsburgh Times, March 16, quoted in New York Post, March 16.

[&]quot; San Francisco Chronicle, March 17. See also The Times (London), March 19.

If these premises were to be accepted, it was obviously vital for the defenders of the lynchers both to minimize the value and the sanctity of established law and to emphasize the validity of "the higher law." This was attempted in several ways. The Portland Oregonian enunciated the theory that "Human law is a tool which human society employs to do certain work," arguing:

It is entitled to no special reverence for itself. Indeed it has no separate existence or qualities. It is an instrument invented by society to accomplish the highest social object, . . . the protection of society against the ill-regulated impulses and undisciplined passions of those who disregard the rules of conduct established by general acceptance. When the law serves this purpose promptly and effectively, it is worthy of all respect and obedience. When it fails, it is a dull, broken, worthless tool, to be thrown aside and superseded by any agency at hand. Society does not die or suffer paralysis when the law breaks down. It simply loses an accustomed tool and has to invent a new one on the spur of the moment.

It then applied this thesis to the events of the previous day. Pointing out that "the law had suffered temporary but complete paralysis," it said that "society" then threw aside "its broken tool" and "used the naked first of mob law."38 This assault on law was continued by the Fort Worth Daily Gazette and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. The former emphasized that "the laws of men are not infallible,"39 and agreed with the Seattle paper, which asserted that the "law of necessary self defense" is "superior to the letter of the statute" when this is "effective only for the protection of crime and the imperiling of life, property and social order," as it was at New Orleans. Consequently the outburst of the previous day should not be classified as a case of lynch law or mob violence.40 It was also affirmed that the people of New Orleans had vindicated both justice41 and law.42

From the doctrine of self-preservation and these farreaching criticisms of human law it was only a short step to a defense of the people of the Crescent City based on the view that they merely resumed their sovereign powers. While this theory was hinted at in the Washington Post, which mentioned the "self-

^{**}March 15. It warned, however, that mob law "must make no mistake", and that the "appeal to higher law must wait for absolute certainty of guilt."

Fort Worth Daily Gazette, March 16.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 15.

⁴⁹ New Orleans States, March 14, quoted in Atlanta Constitution, March 16.

ordained and automatic power of the outraged people,"43 it was perhaps the most ably expressed in the New Orleans Picauune in two editorials on March 15th. In one the journalist held:

The machinery of organized government which is entrusted with the protection of society and the repression and punishing of criminals is a mere creature, a servant of the people . . .

What the people are able to create, so the people are able to destroy. This great natural law applies to every form of organized government. And the people alone, in mass, are competent to declare the failure of their delegated government, and so the people alone are able to rise up in mass, and destroy it at need and at will.

According to the other explanation.

Every resource known to our system of government had been exhausted in vain. There was no other hope, there were no other means but for the people to take the matter in their own hands and right their own wrong. When it comes to this, the people are a law to themselves. There is no higher power save God, and in matters of government the people in their sovereign capacity represent the supreme power.44

Dependent upon these doctrines are three closely related theories. One held that when the "best citizens" meet and decide that justice must be done, "there is something in it far different from the ordinary mob law."45 The second was enunciated by the Trenton True American. After characterizing the outbreak as "the highest act of a free people", it asserted that, when such uprisings "assume the forms of a revolution against misgovernment," they should be "applauded rather than condemned."46 The third was advanced by the Pittsburgh Post, which asserted that

... these outbreaks are essentially American in character, and when considered as a whole, are not ebullitions of the anarchial spirit, but of the self-governing capacity, which is the basis of the American character in political and civic needs.47

⁴³ March 15. **March 15.

4 See also Washington Oritic, March 16; New York World, March 19; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 15; and New Orleans Christian Advocate (March 19 !), quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 23. For a criticism of this theory, see New York Tribune, March 20.

4 Philadelphia Inquirer, March 18. The New York Commercial Advertiser, March 16, endeavored to prove that leading citizens were not included in the group of fifty who called the

mass meeting.

46 March 16.

⁴⁷ March 16, quoted in New York Post, March 16.

A feeling of contempt for and anger against the Mafia ran through almost all the arguments apologizing for the lynchers, the belief being strong that it had perverted justice in New Orleans. The implication that the slain had suffered just fates was also prevalent. Most of the defenders of the lynchings emphasized the provocation and the necessity of self-preservation.

A small group of papers refused to take a completely unequivocal stand. Their general attitude was to deplore the affair, and then to announce that lynching lost much of its "awfulness" in this case.48 As a variation, editorial writers would distinguish sharply between the theoretical and legal aspects of the affair.49

Part B-A Survey of the Press

As mentioned earlier, editors throughout the country were not reluctant to inform their readers of the proper position to take in regard to the action of the New Orleans mob. That many of them were apparently relatively unaffected by political and sectional considerations will be indicated by this survey, which will follow roughly state groupings—New England, Middle Atlantic, North Central, Mountain, Pacific, Old South and South Central.50

To many people the Boston of the Cabots and the Curleys represents both New England and that section's proverbial hostility toward the South. So there was probably slight surprise when six of that city's papers vied with each other in the vigor of their condemnations of the lynchings and of the people of the southern metropolis.51 The Traveller was only one to display pointedly sectional prejudice.

Of four provincial dailies only the Springfield Union (Rep.) was as critical as the Bostonian editorialists. It suggested that Ben Butler might have ordered deputy sheriffs to fire on the crowd to teach it "that the law must and should be respected."52

Secondary sources, March 16.
New York Times, March 15, 16, 17.
This writer used relatively few excerpts taken from secondary sources, like other newspapers and so-called digests, on account of the danger that the quoted lines do not indicate precisely the opinion of the journal in question. Occasionally, however, an excerpt seemed sufficiently complete to warrant its use, albeit with trepidation.
In the order of their eminence in denunciation (all except the Traveller published editorials on March 16): Boston Globe (Dem.); Boston Post (Ind.); Boston Advertiser (Rep.); Boston Herald (Ind.); Boston Traveller (Rep.), quoted in Chicago Inter-Ocean, March 20; and Boston Transcript (Ind. Rep.). The latter made good use of the argument on the dangers of mob tyranny.

The political leanings of the newspapers will be indicated as shown above in the parentheses, Republican (Rep.); Democratic (Dem.); and Independent (Ind.).

So Quoted in Chicago Inter-Ocean, March 19.

On the other hand, the influential Springfield Republican (Ind.) took only mild exception to the outbreak, while asserting that the "great" provocation did not justify the lynchings,53 and that they had not fulfilled their purposes,54 and Senator Hawley's Hartford Courant (Rep.) merely implied disapproval. 55 The Providence Journal (Ind.) straddled the fence through the device of dwelling upon the provocation.56

In the Middle Atlantic area the assailants of the New Orleans crowd heavily outnumbered its defenders, who were scattered from Albany to Washington.

Among the "York State" dailies which commented on the affair, the Albany Journal (Rep.) approved, referring contemptuously to the characters of the slain,57 while the Buffalo Express (Ind. Rep.) co-operated with the Boston Traveller in urging that Parkerson and the other ringleaders of the mob be brought to justice, preferably "on the gallows." 58

In New York City, the outbreak was censured by ten dailies,59 while two, the New York Times (Rep.) 60 and the New York World (Dem.), 61 found themselves able—after much travail to approve by the device of separating the theoretical and legal and the varied practical aspects of the affair. It was skillful tightrope walking. While the Press, the Mail and Express, the Recorder, and the Continent were particularly impressed by the bloodshed, the other deprecators emphasized the metaphysical objections to mob law. In its second editorial, the Press, a popular and zealous Republican organ, indulged in a thinly veiled attack upon the "semi-civilization" of the South.62

Opinion on the opposite bank of the East River was divided. While the Brooklyn Eagle (Dem.) was intensifying its already

⁵⁸ March 15. 54 March 19. 55 March 16. 58 March 16.

BT March 16.

St March 16.

St Quoted in Chicago Inter-Ocean, March 18.

St They are listed according to the intensity or the sharpness of the words they hurled at the New Orleans crowd: New York Press (Rep.), March 15, 20; New York Mail and Express (Rep.), quoted in Chicago Inter-Ocean, March 19; New York Recorder (Ind.), March 16; New York Tribune (Rep.), March 15, 16, 17, 20; New York Sun (Ind.), March 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; New York Continent, March 15; New York Journal (Ind.), March 16; New York Commercial Advertiser, March 16; New York Herald (Ind.), March 15; and New York Post (Ind. Rep.), March 16, 17. While in the latter editorial, the Post explained why the could not approve the lynchings, it praised the "better class" in New Orleans for its "courage and fiery indignation."

The Continent, a Munsey tabloid, did not survive long enough to attain recognition in Ayer's Guide, and there was no political preference listed for the Commercial Advertiser.

**OMArch 15, 16, 17, 18. The editorial of March 17 was the clearest statement of its position.

**March 16, 19. The latter is the more approving.

**March 20.

sharp criticismes the Brooklyn Citizen (Dem.) applauded the act as the "rendition of justice" and the "vindication of the law."64

A Democratic paper published in New Jersey's capital, the True American, said that the uprising, which assumed the form of a "revolution against misgovernment," should be applauded rather than condemned.65

Philadelphia papers provided their readers with differing views. The two extremes were represented by the Public Ledger (Ind.), which passionately condemned the "best citizens" and the city officials,66 and the Inquirer (Ind. Rep.), which distinguished between the New Orleans outbreak and "ordinary mob law" after regretting that much "morbid sentiment has been wasted over the violent deaths of a lot of red-handed assassins."67 Of their contemporaries, the Times (Ind.) feared the consequences of mob rule,68 the Press (Rep.), looking down from Olympian heights, was mildly critical; 69 and the North American (Rep.) was moderately sympathetic. 70

Influential papers along the Philadelphia to Washington route, the Wilmington Republican (Rep.),71 the Baltimore American (Rep.), and the Baltimore Sun (Ind.) 78 were united in regarding the citizenry as unwise and "disgraced".

In the capital, however, the attitudes of the most important dailies were more favorable to the Crescent City. While alarmed about the international aspects of the incident,74 the Post (Ind.) offered a philosophical defense of the lynching,75 and later described the provocation forcefully.76 The Star (Ind.), while regretting the method employed and fearing its future effect on New Orleans, applauded the "stamping out" of the Mafia.77 The Critic (Dem.) eulogized the people for exercising their sovereignty.78

March 14, 16, 18.
 Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 22.
 March 16.
 March 16.
 March 18.

of March 18.

Warch 15.

March 16.

March 17.

March 18.

⁷⁸ March 16. See also March 14.

In the North Central area the apologists for the lynchings were numerically stronger than they had been in the two sections already discussed.

There was a marked difference of opinion among the papers in the Pittsburgh district. While the Commercial Gazette (Rep.) 79 and the Dispatch (Rep.) 80 denounced the outbreak as a national disgrace, the Post (Dem.) regarded it as "essentially American in character", 81 and the Times (Rep.) upheld the community's "right of self-defense."82 In Wheeling, the Intelligencer (Rep.) decried the lynchings as "disgraceful" and "barbarous".83

The editorials in the Cincinnati Commercial Gazette (Rep.) 84 and the Times-Star (Rep.) 85 were apparently influenced to a considerable extent by the "purifying" effect of the outbreak of mob violence in that city in 1884 after an alleged miscarriage of justice in the Berner case. Judicial in tone, these editorials were mildly favorable, emphasizing the provocation, and condemning the activity of the Mafia in New Orleans.

The editorial opinions in Chicago rivalled those of Boston in both its unanimity and its vigor of denunciation.86 They emphasized the "horrible butchery" committed in this "crime against civilization." In addition, the Tribune did not forget to mention the "long dark record of Southern lawlessness," nor the Inter-Ocean, the "Bourbon leaders of Louisiana."88

There was slight moderation evinced in the reactions of three St. Louis dailies and one Kansas City paper. The St. Louis Republic (Dem.) excoriated the New Orleans crowd for the "deliberate murder" of men whose guilt had not been proven,89 and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Ind.) announced that it had no preference between "secret murder by a midnight mob of assassins . . . and open murder in daylight by a mob under pretense of justice. . . ." It also urged universal condemnation of the "crime". On the other hand, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat

Quoted in New York Post, March 16.
 March 16.

⁷⁹ Quoted in New York Post, March 16.
80 March 16.
81 Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 20.
82 Quoted in New York Post, March 16.
83 March 16.
84 March 17, 19.
85 March 16.
86 Chicago Tribune (Rep.), March 15, 16; Chicago Inter-Ocean (Rep.), March 16, 17; Chicago Times (Dem.), March 16; Chicago News (Ind.), quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 21; and Chicago Herald (Ind.), March 15.
87 March 15.
88 March 16.
89 March 15.
80 Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 17.

²⁰ Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 17.

(Rep.) 91 and the Kansas City Journal (Rep.) 92 upheld the action of the crowd, invoking the rights of popular sovereignty and selfdefense, respectively.

A similar lack of agreement was shown by other important dailies in the North Central states. In Indianapolis, the Sentinel (Dem.) employed impassioned language to condemn the outbreak, assuring its readers that "so black a crime nowhere marks the page of history."98 The Journal (Rep.), however, switched from the ranks of the defenders to those of the assailants after fortyeight hours. 94 While the Detroit Free Press (Dem.) was worrying over the effects of the outbreak on the Crescent City and on international relations 95 and the Milwaukee Sentinel (Rep.) was animadverting on New Orleans' "gang of 3,000 murderers,"96 the Detroit News (Ind.) was analyzing the outbreak very tolerantly, 97 the Omaha World-Herald (Ind.) was expressing its enthusiasm for "Violent but honest justice," and the Minneapolis Tribune (Rep.) 99 and the St. Paul Pioneer Press (Ind. Rep.) 100 were condoning the lynchings.

An examination of four papers in the Mountain states revealed three different viewpoints and one uninterested editor. 101 In Salt Lake City, the Deseret News, Mormon organ, expressed its horror, 102 while the Salt Lake Tribune, its independent anti-Mormon rival, upheld the "jurisdiction" of "the higher court of the people."103 Although disdainful of mob law, the Denver Republican (Rep.) admitted that it was "almost always inevitable" under the circumstances faced by the people of New Orleans. 104 One can surmise that the unhappy past of the Mormons and the history of Utah and Colorado might have influenced these editorials.

98 March 16. See the more rabid editorial in March 17.

⁹¹ March 15. 93 March 14.

March 16. See the more rabid editorial in March 17.

Mon March 15, its tone was generally favorable to the people of New Orleans, and it said: "On general principles a resort to lynch law is never defensible, and yet there may be circumstances which come very near justifying it. . . . If lynch law could ever be justified it would be in breaking up such an organization as the Mafia." On March 17, it decided that "great provocation does not justify mob violence," and proceeded to excoriate the lynchers.

March 15.

March 16.

⁹⁷ March 16. 98 March 15.

 ¹⁰¹ The Rocky Mountain News, Denver's leading Democratic daily, ignored the lynchings in its editorial columns.
 102 March 16.
 103 March 15.

¹⁰⁴ March 15. Also see other comment in same issue.

In view of the vigilante tradition of the area, the Pacific Coast papers apparently either believed in the efficacy of Judge Lynch or felt that it was impolitic or unjust to condemn the action of the New Orleans crowd. The Seattle Post-Intelligencer105 (Rep.), the Portland Oregonian¹⁰⁶ (Rep.) and the San Francisco Chronicle (Ind.) 107 provided elaborate philosophical defenses for the New Orleans people. Of the other San Francisco dailies, the Alta California¹⁰⁸ (Ind. Dem.) approved, the Examiner (Ind.) was willing to permit the people of New Orleans, who knew most about the case, to be the "judges of their own conduct,"100 and the Call (Ind.) found it difficult to take a stand. 110

Newspapers in the old South and the South Central states did not rally to the support of embattled New Orleans, thus seemingly proving that in these regions a defense of the outbreak was not considered to be either a sectional or a political responsibility. In fact, sensitiveness on the subject of lynching indubitably increased the acidity of certain of the condemnatory editorials.

Of the ten newspapers consulted from the Virginia to Florida sector, all of which were Democratic except the independent Petersburg (Va.) Index-Appeal, six expressed their disapproval of the lynchings and one was noncommittal. While the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier¹¹¹ and the Petersburg Index-Appeal¹¹² were appalled at "the whole ghastly business," the Atlanta Constitution deplored the methods used by the mob, 118 and the Savannah Morning News, 114 the Augusta Chronicle 115 and the Jacksonville Times-Union feared the effects of the undermining of the law and of jury trials. The Norfolk Landmark avoided taking an unequivocal stand.117 On the other hand, the Richmond State applauded the "healthy" outburst of "popular indignation,"118 disclosing in a later editorial an anti-foreign feeling;119

¹⁰⁵ March 15, 16.
¹⁰⁶ March 15. The next day its comments fitted the New Orleans outbreak into its metaphysical structure.

107 March 15, 17, 18.

¹⁰⁷ March 15, 17, 18.
108 April 17.
109 March 16.
110 On March 15 it characterized the outbreak as a "dangerous experiment." Two days later it asserted that "the matter is a question as to the necessity of mob law to vindicate justice in New Orleans."
111 March 16.
112 Quoted in New York Press, March 22.
113 March 15. It said, however, that it was "more than probable" that the results of the outbreak would be "good."
114 March 15.
115 Outsted in New Orleans Picayans. March 18, 21.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 18, 21.
116 March 15.
117 March 17.

¹¹⁸ March 14. 119 March 16.

the Richmond Dispatch called lynch law "heaven" compared to the "law" meted out to the people of New Orleans and Hennessy "by the monsters whose careers came to an end last Saturday;"120 and the Raleigh News and Observer calmly remarked that the inhabitants of the Crescent City were "very resolute in administering justice" after the unpopular verdict.121

There was apparently slightly more editorial sympathy for the New Orleans crowd in the region stretching between Louisville and Galveston than elsewhere. In this area, 122 the critics were primarily concerned over the "barbarity and injustice of the proceeding."123 and the dangerous effect of mob rule on law and justice. 124 In addition, the Mobile Register said:

We had hoped that we had seen the last of lynch law in the South. It has brought reproach on our section, deterred immigration, and caused often the death of innocent persons, or of men not deserving capital punishment. 125

The apologies for the outbreak emphasized, however, the metaphysical arguments, 126 although the Natchez Banner (Dem.) compared the Mafia to a yellow-fever epidemic.127 While the muchquoted Louisville Courier-Journal (Dem.) refused to decide upon the "justice" of the fate of the slain, it announced that there were thousands of immigrants entering the United States each year "who should be hanged". The tone was one of implicit approval.128

In Louisiana itself only a few recalcitrant papers refused to approve the work of the New Orleans crowd. The dailies of the Crescent City were lavish in their praise and erected an elaborate defense, 129 and the Baton Rouge Advocate 130 (Dem.) and the

¹²⁰ March 15. 121 March 16.

¹²² Louisiana is reserved for a separate discussion.

Calveston News (Ind.), March 15; and Vicksburg Post (Ind. Dem.), quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 19.

128 Houston Post (Dem.), quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 18; Nashville Banner (Ind.), quoted in ibid., March 19; and Birmingham Age-Herald (Dem.), quoted in ibid., March 20.

March 20.

128 Mobile Register (Dem.), March 15.

128 Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock) (Dem.), March 15, 20; Memphis Appeal-Avalanche (Dem.) and Memphis Commercial (Dem.), both quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 18;

127 Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 19.

and Fort Worth Gazette (Ind. Dem.), March 16, 18.

128 March 18. On April 6, it asserted that "the uprising in New Orleans was forced upon the people by an inexorable necessity."

129 Picayune, March 15; Times-Democrat, March 15; States, March 14, quoted in Atlanta Constitution, March 16, and ibid., March 15, quoted in the New York Tribune, March 16; City Item, March 15, quoted in Coxe, 1089; and New Delta, quoted in Chicago Inter-Ocean, March 19. All were Democratic organs except the Times-Democrat, which was an independent Democratic paper. Democratic paper.

120 Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 19.

Shreveport Caucasian¹⁸¹ (Dem.) were allied with them. The facade of unanimity was shattered, however, by two weeklies, the New Orleans Republican¹⁸² (Rep.) and the New Orleans Critic¹³³ (Dem.). Furthermore, of two Methodist weeklies, one apologized for the outbreak on the ground of popular sovereignty, 134 while the other condemned it unreservedly.185

Since the necessary qualifications have been made, it is probably relatively safe to force the varied opinions into the rigid structure of statistical tables. The first one will be both regional and political, the second political only.136

Several tentative conclusions can be drawn from this survey. First the political aspect of the affair was apparently not a determining factor in the editorial judgments on the lynchings. For example, only in the Middle Atlantic area did the Democratic papers go against the prevailing regional trend. Second, the past of a region often influenced its newspapers. For example, the vigilante tradition of California and the Berner riots of Cincinnati apparently created a sympathy in those places for the people of New Orleans; on the other hand, the opprobrium which lynchings had brought upon the South was undoubtedly a factor in a number of the condemnatory editorials written there. Third, most of the critics admitted the provocation of the populace, and there were few editorial tears shed over the lynched. Fourth, many of the defenders admitted their distrust of lynch law, but advanced, directly or implicitly, the doctrine of necessity. Fifth, a certain latent anti-immigration or perhaps anti-Italian feeling could be noted.

¹²¹ Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 23.

¹⁸² Quoted in New York Herald, March 21, and in Chicago Inter-Ocean, March 26.

¹⁸⁸ Cited in New York Herald, March 21.

¹³⁴ New Orleans Christian Advocate, March 19, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 23. 185 Southwestern (New Orleans) Christian Advocate, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, March 23.

See appendices A and B.

APPENDIX A

TABLE I: REGIONS BY PARTIES

Section and Party	Approve (of the lynchings)	Disapprove (of the lynchings)	Non- committal
New England:			
Republican		4	
Democrat		i	
Independent		3	1
Ind. Republican		1	
			<u> </u>
		9	1
Middle Atlantic:			
Republican	. 2	7	
Democrat	. 4	1	
Independent	. 2	6	
Independent Republican.		3	
Commercial		1	
Unidentified*		1	
	_	_	
	9	19	
North Central:			
Republican		7	
Democrat		4	
Independent		3	
Ind. Republican	1		
	-	<u>.</u>	
	10	14	14.
Mountain:			
Republican			1
Democrat			ī
Mormon		1	
Anti-Mormon	1		
	_	_	_
	1	1	2

^{*} New York Continent, Munsey's ephemeral tabloid.

New Orleans L	ynchings	of 1891	203
Pacific Coast:			
Republican	2		
Independent	2		1
Ind. Democrat	1		
	_		_
	5		1
Old South:			
Democrat	3	- 5	1
Independent		1	
	_	_	44
	3	6	1
South Central:			
Democrat	5	3	
Independent		2	
Ind. Democrat	1	1	
	_	_	
	6	6	
Louisiana:			
Republican		1	
Democrat	6	1	
Ind. Democrat	1		
Methodist	1	1	
	8	3	

TOTALS:

APPENDIX B

TABLE II: SUMMARY BY PARTIES

Party	Approve (of the lynchings)	Disapprove (of the lynchings)	Non- committal
Republicans	10	19	1
Democrats	19	15	2
Independents	. 6	14	2
Ind. Republicans	. 2	4	
Ind. Democrats	. 3	1	
Mormon		1	
Anti-Mormon	. 1		
Methodist	1	1	
Commercial		1	
Unidentified		1	

BOOK REVIEWS

Diplomacy and the Borderlands. The Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819. By Philip Coolidge Brooks. (University of California Publications in History, vol. 24. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. x, 262. \$2.50).

Reviewed by HARRIS G. WARREN

Luis de Onís y González, career diplomat and brilliant envoy of Spain, represented his country in the United States during a dismal decade of Spanish decline. Spain passed from crisis to crisis in its precipitous descent into the ranks of the third-rate powers; but the empire still had the services of extraordinary men—Apodaca, San Carlos, Pizarro, and Luis de Onís. Industrious, resourceful, and ever loyal, Onís served with rare distinction in diplomatic and foreign-office posts before accepting the difficult American mission in 1809. The period of that mission is the subject of this definitive study of the Adams-Onís Treaty.

During the first six years of his mission, Onis was busy with obtaining supplies for Spain, reorganizing the consular service, relaying information to fellow officers, trying to win recognition of his mission, and protesting against American aid to the insurgents. Although his formal reception did not occur until December, 1815, Onis crossed swords frequently with American officials. He showed himself to be a capable antagonist, as Madison, Monroe, and Adams could testify. The annexation of West Florida, the brief occupation of Amelia Island, numerous filibustering plots and expeditions, Jackson's Florida invasion, and public sympathy for Spain's rebellious colonies all called forth vehement notes from Onis. While these events were transpiring, negotiations were opened for the settlement of outstanding issues between Spain and the United States. The result was the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819 that ceded the Floridas to the United States, defined the boundary between New Spain and the United States, and surrendered Spain's claims to the Oregon country.

The main outlines of the treaty negotiations are by no means revealed for the first time; but Diplomacy and the Borderlands does for the first time present an entirely adequate narrative of conditioning factors that shaped the treaty in its final form. Dr. Brooks gives the essential background for each of the regional contests from Florida to Oregon. The attitudes of foreign powers, Spain's futile efforts to win support in a world seeking "to appease controversy," the development of American neutrality, and the annoyances of authorized and unauthorized military excursions, were some of those conditioning factors. The author has succeeded admirably in not allowing himself to be lured too far into the discussion of any of them, while at the same time none of them are slighted.

Historians who have concentrated on some aspects of Spanish-American relations will find occasion to dispute with Dr. Brooks. For example, "The chief pirates were two Frenchmen who had begun life in America as immigrant blacksmiths in New Orleans, Jean and Pierre Lasstte." (p. 42) This statement agrees with tradition but not with the facts. The brothers Laffite (who did not spell their name 'Lafitte') were neither blacksmiths nor pirates. They associated with pirates and smuggled their stolen goods, but vessels owned by the brothers Laffite sailed with privateering commissions issued by the insurgent governments of Spain's rebellious colonies. In mentioning the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition, the author missed a chance to show that William Shaler, Monroe's agent on the frontier, was a prime mover of that attack against New Spain. But these matters are of little moment in the broad range of this monograph.

Dr. Brooks has compressed the results of prodigious research into a lucid account of a very difficult subject. He has drawn upon archives in Spain, France, England, Canada, and the United States. His excellent, annotated bibliography shows familiarity with a wide range of published sources and secondary materials. Equipped with copious notes, illustrations, maps, and an adequate index, Diplomacy and the Borderlands is an outstanding contribution in American diplomatic history.

Histoire de la Louisiane Française, 1673-1939. By Emile Lauvrière. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1940. Pp. 445. \$3.00.)

Reviewed by André Lafargue

The book is just what its title implies: a history of Louisiana under the French regime, and of the status presently of the French language, French customs and French traditions in Louisiana as a result of this regime. Emile Lauvrière, the author, is well known to this reviewer, who had the pleasure of visiting him in Paris long prior to his coming to Louisiana. The people of Louisiana are indebted to Mr. Lauvrière for the manifest and substantial interest that he has taken in this State and in its population of French origin. Mr. Lauvrière has always been particularly interested in the Acadian element of this population. He wrote a masterful work entitled: La Tragedie d'un Peuple (The Tragedy of a People), in two heavy tomes, which is a very comprehensive history of the rise, dispersion, trials and eventual settlement of the Acadians in Canada, and in the United States of America. The work earned him the Grand Prix Gobert of the Academie Francaise, one of the choicest distinctions that the Forty Immortals can confer upon a writer. Mr. Lauvrière is likewise the author of several works upon Edgar Allen Poe, Chatterton, and Tennyson. He accomplished his cherished ambition when he came to Louisiana in 1937 as visiting professor at the Louisiana State University. A doctor of letters of the Sorbonne, he can now boast of the added distinction of a doctorate of literature conferred upon him by Louisiana State University, at the end of his lecture term in Baton Rouge. As a result of this trip to Louisiana Mr. Lauvrière was better able to judge for himself the imprint left upon our State and its population by French colonization.

It is most evident as one reads the History of French Louisiana written by Mr. Lauvrière, recently released by the Louisiana State University Press, that the author has compiled a painstaking and interesting work upon the subject. He has had access to numerous source materials and data, some of which had never or

seldom been examined by previous historians and writers on Louisiana history. Rightfully the author, after giving us a brief narrative of the earlier attempts made by the Spaniards to colonize the Florida and South Atlantic seacoast of Northern America and the region to the west thereof, including a portion of the delta of the Mississippi River and sections of what is today the State of Texas, begins his history by telling us of the marvelous voyage made by Joliet and his companion, Father Marquette, in 1673 down to the mouth of the Arkansas River. The narratives of this eventful trip and the descriptions of the country traversed while descending the great Father of Waters by both Joliet and Father Marquette are referred to very comprehensively. I am very much impressed, particularly with that portion of Mr. Lauvrière's work dealing with Robert Cavelier de La Salle, his explorations in the Great Lakes region, the founding of the forts and settlements which he intended as bases for his subsequent descent of Old Man River and most of which were destroyed by the enmity of men and by untoward events, and finally his discovery of the mouth of the great river on April 9, 1682, which are all commented upon and described in detailed and most interesting fashion. Mr. Lauvrière is evidently, and quite properly, an ardent admirer of the doughty Norman explorer. I remember that he discussed the subject with me and told me that he thought that some historians had been unduly severe in dealing with the alleged haughty and capricious moods of the one who has done more to earn the respect and gratitude of Louisianians than any other of the early explorers.

The chapters dealing with the LeMoyne de Longueil family and with the accomplishments particularly of Iberville and Bienville show likewise considerable research work and in some instances shed new light upon that phase of our Louisiana history. I do not quite agree, however, with everything that Mr. Lauvrière says concerning Bienville. In an attempt to be just and strictly accurate as an historian, the author deals at times rather severely with the founder of New Orleans. The two dominating figures of Louisiana colonial history are unquestionably Robert Cavelier de La Salle and Jean Baptiste LeMoyne de Bienville, one the blazer of trails, the geographer, the discoverer and the explorer, who was denied the opportunity of founding some of the early settlements, through an untimely and tragic death, and the

other the one man whose vision, strength of character, intimate knowledge of the aboriginal inhabitants, their language, ways and modes of life, and whose pertinacity and iron will made possible the settlement and development of what was then referred to as lower Louisiana. Bienville's disposition may not have been at all times of a suave or urbane character, and it may be that he betrayed traits of a selfish and money-grabbing trend, but when one considers the very enormity of the task that he had assumed and the many handicaps that he was called upon to surmount by way of human intrigue and the treacherous character of the country itself and of some of its aboriginal inhabitants, one is inclined to forget some of the weaknesses displayed by the founder of New Orleans, whose immortal work has now attained a perennial status.

The phases of our French history dealing with the West Indies or Occidental Company, the Crozat concession, the influence exerted by John Law and the brief tenures of office of LaMothe Cadillac and de L'Epinay as governors of Louisiana are most illuminating, and so is that portion of the work dealing exhaustively with the founding of New Orleans. Much ground that had been previously covered by historians was again covered by Mr. Lauvrière in his work, but in some instances he sheds new light upon the motives of individuals and upon the real merit or demerit of their enterprises.

We should also be thankful to him for his chapter on the "Explorations in Louisiana" outside of New Orleans and its immediate vicinity, a phase of our history which to my mind has never been treated or discussed in very comprehensive fashion.

The chapters on administrative policies in colonial times, the wrangles that characterized same, the jealousies and intrigues that prevailed then, as they do nowadays, the famous Natchez war, the siege and capture of Fort Rosalie, are described in learned manner. In condensed and brief pages Mr. Lauvrière refers successively to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Kerlérec, Abbadie and Aubry. In my opinion he is overgenerous to the last one of these French governors.

He merely touches upon the Spanish domination in Louisiana, which can be easily understood, as the work is one that deals with French Louisiana, but I must say that I find that the author does not devote to the events that led up to the retrocession

of Louisiana and to the actual transfer from France to the United States the same amount of conscientious labor and analytical discussion displayed in the narrative dealing with the early explorers and their undertakings in the Mississippi Valley. The Treaty of San Ildefonso, the "Family Compact" and the Louisiana Purchase are events of transcendental importance, which all took place under French domination and which had lasting repercussions upon the marvelous development of the many states carved out of the old Louisiana Province.

Mr. Lauvrière devotes concluding chapters of his work to the Acadians in Louisiana and to an epilogue or summary of the present French influence in our midst, all too brief, in my humble opinion, and not in consonance with the substantial character of the work. Mr. Lauvrière is likewise very visibly and properly impressed with the tenacious character of French influence among the Acadians in Louisiana. In my further humble opinion, he does not do justice to metropolitan French culture and literary attainments in New Orleans. After all New Orleans is still the center of French culture in Louisiana.

With these few restrictions I heartily commend the work just released by the Louisiana State University Press and feel that it is a noteworthy addition to the bibliography of Louisiana. de

RECORDS OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF LOUISIANA LXXXVI.

July-September, 1762
(Continued from October, 1940, Quarterly)

By G. Lugano Revised by Walter Prichard

By the Editor of the Quarterly

List of officials of Louisiana participating in the work of the Superior Council of Louisiana contained in this installment:

- De Kerlérec, Louis Billouart, Chevalier, Governor
- De Foucault, Nicolas Denis, acting Commissioner of the Marine, acting Intendant and First Judge of the Superior Council
- De la Lande d'Apremont, Charles Marie, Councillor Assessor, and acting Procureur General
- Delaunay, Louis Alexandre Piot, Councillor Assessor
- De Macarty de Mactigue, Barthelemy, Chevalier, Councillor, and acting Lieutenant of the King
- De la Chaise, Jacques, Councillor Assessor, and Keeper of the King's Warehouses in New Orleans
- Lesassier, Charles, Councillor Assessor
- Fremeur, Councillor Chatillon, Councillor

- Chantalou, Augustin, Councillor Assessor, Royal Notary and Chief Clerk of the Superior Council
- Lenormand, Marin, Sheriff
- Broutin, Francois, Royal Notary and Clerk of the Superior Council
- Garic, Jean Baptiste, Royal Notary and Chief Clerk of the Superior Council (1763)
- Carlier, Alexis, Clerk of the Marine and acting Controller in Louisiana
- Devergés, Bernard, Civil Engineer of the King in New Orleans
- Develle, Pierre Annibal, Lieutenant of the King and Commandant at Mobile
- Descloseaux, Jean Arnould Valentin Bobé, Clerk of the Marine, acting Commissioner at Mobile

Roujot, Royal Notary and Clerk of the Court at Mobile

Le Beau, Francois, Physician and Botanist of the King in Louisiana Benoist, Charles, Royal Notary and Clerk of the Court at Pointe Coupée

Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros: Clerks or secretaries of the Superior Council

July 2, 1762. No. 8205. 3 pp.

Settlement of affairs of the succession of Louis Chauvin Beaulieu and his wife, between Louis Chauvin Beaulieu and Francois Chauvin Monplaisir, on the one hand, and Francois Demouy, their half-brother, on the other.

Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the witnesses hereinafter mentioned and undersigned, appeared, on one side, Sieur Louis Chauvin Beaulieu, Officer of the Coast-guard Militia, residing at Chapitoulas, and Sr. Francois Chauvin Monplaisir, also Officer of the Coast-guard Militia, residing at said post of Chapitoulas, both of age and in the full enjoyment of their rights, sons of the late Sieur Louis Chauvin Beaulieu and of the

late Dame Charlotte Orbane Duval, who died as wife of Sieur Francois Demouy, Captain of the Coast-guard Militia at Chapitoulas, whom she married after her first husband's death; and, on the other side, Sieur Francois Demouy, residing in this city, in his own name and as tutor of his minor brothers and sisters, all children of the late Francois Demouy and of the late Dame Charlotte Orbane Duval.

Said Sieurs Chauvin Beaulieu and Chauvin Monplaisir declared that, having perused and examined the compromise made between themselves and the late Sieur and Dame Demouy, the account rendered to them by said Sr. Demouy, the procèsverbal of the inventory and sales, the decisions rendered by the Superior Council, and all else that had been executed in reference to the successions of the late Sieur and Dame Demouy; and having conferred on the matter with their undersigned relatives and friends, as well as with said minors' relatives and friends, for the purpose of reaching a compromise in regard to the amount coming to themselves, they ascertained that: the total assets of said successions amounted to the sum of 110,074 livres; that the sum of 22,204 livres was paid to several persons in settlement of debts and obligations; and that the portion and share coming to them, Sieurs Chauvin Beaulieu and Chauvin

Monplaisir, was the sum of 15,345 livres, 12 sols and 8 deniers, which sum they confessed and acknowledged to have received in cash from said Sr. Francois Demouy, and declared that said amount represented their full interest in said successions, and expressed their complete satisfaction and gave full acquittance and discharge in behalf of all the sons and heirs of said late Sr. Demouy.

Therefore the sum of 72,524 livres, 7 sols and 4 deniers still remained to be divided among the sons of said Sr. Demouy, each of whom being entitled to the sum of 10,365 livres, 12 sols and 5 deniers. The two contracting parties stipulated to have the present compromise homologated by the court, so as to make the agreement firm and permanent.

Executed in the Notarial Office of this city on July 2, 1762, in the presence of Messrs. Pierre Marquis and Marin Bary, competent witnesses here residing.

(Signed): Demouy; Chauvin Beaulieu; Chauvin Monplaisir; Marquis, witness; Delalande; Chauvin Desillet; Chauvin Boisclair; Chabert; Bary; Broutin, Notary.

Homologation of the above act by the Superior Council. August 7, 1762.—The Council, having read the conclusions of the Procureur General of the King, homologated and does homologate the present act, so that it

may be executed according to its form and tenor. Given in the Council-chamber, on August 7, 1762. (Signed): Kerlérec; Chatillon; Fremeur; Foucault; Chantalou; Macarty; Delachaise; De Launay; Lesassier; Delalande.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 5. No. 8208. 2 pp.

Procuration by Julien Vienne to Pierre Arrivé for settlement of account on bills of exchange, etc. Procuration granted by Sieur Julien Vienne, merchant of this city, constituting as his general and special attorney Sr. Pierre Arrivé, also merchant of this city, to whom he gave full power to manage, conduct, settle and receive, in his lieu and name, the share and portion coming to him on account of bills of exchange drawn upon the Royal Treasury of Paris and on

account of Spanish silver currency, that were remitted to Sr.

Laforest to be used for the equipment agreed upon by the Constituent, Sr. Mazent and said Sr. Laforest, said funds having been remitted to Sr. Laforest according to his acknowledgment dated April 26, 1761, a collated copy of which document is annexed to these presents (document missing), and having remained in the keeping of Sr. Laforest, who never rendered an account of same to anybody. Therefore Sr. Arrivé will recover and receive the share and portion due to the Constituent, and in case of default or refusal of payment by Sr. Laforest, the said attorney is empowered and instructed to have him compelled thereto by all possible means; to obtain judgments, sentences and decrees, seizures, executions and sales; to give discharges for all sums that he will receive; to represent him in everything and everywhere; to compromise; to pass and sign deeds; to constitute one or more attorneys and to substitute or revoke them; and to do all that could be done by the Constituent himself if he were present; the said Constituent hereby agreeing to accept as satisfactory, and to approve and ratify all that will be done by his said attorney.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city on July 5, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, witnesses.

(Signed): J. Vienne; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary. (Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 6.

No. 8212. 2 pp.

Agreement between Bernard Devergés and wife and Adrien Joseph De la Place, concerning division of real estate and slaves held in partnership. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, and in the presence of the witnesses hereinafter mentioned and undersigned, personally appeared, on one side, Mr. Bernard Devergés, Knight of St. Louis, Civil Engineer of the King in this city, and Dame Marie Therésè Pinaut, his wife, whom he duly authorized to act herein; and on the other side, Mr. Adrien Joseph De la Place, Officer of the Militia, residing in this city.

The appearers declared that following a partnership contracted by them, by means of an act under private signature, on November 25, 1759, a cession was made to Sieur De la Place of five arpents frontage of land by the usual depth of

forty arpents, to be taken from the Trianon plantation, adjoining the property of Mr. De Montberault; that for the convenience of the parties on either side it was agreed that Sr. De la Place would take the said five arpents of land on the lower boundary of said plantation, there being included in said plot two arpents and twenty-five toises frontage, which the parties here present have bought from the Dumanoir succession, the deed to which was now delivered to Sr. De la Place, and the balance to be taken from the plantation called Trianon. said tract of land Sr. De la Place will be the free and lawful possessor and will enjoy it and dispose of it as he will see fit; and he was acknowledged also as lawful owner of one-fourth of the landed property situated in this city as well as of all buildings and improvements thereon. Sr. De la Place surrendered all rights to all buildings that might be erected upon said five arpents of land and also to a negro named Philippe. who will become the exclusive property of Mr. and Dame Devergés. For Sr. De la Place's interest in several negroes, which had been bought in partnership, Mr. and Dame Devergés delivered to him a negro named Chassis, his wife Genevieve and four children, in consideration whereof, as full settlement for said negro family, Sr. De la Place will enter a credit of 1252 livres and 10 sols, in behalf of Mr. and Dame Devergés. this was agreed upon by the aforementioned parties.

The act was executed in this city on July 6, 1762, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the residence of Sr. Devergés, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, competent witnesses.

(Signed): Delaplace; Pinaut Devergés; Devergés; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 6. No. 8214. 2 pp.

Procuration by Pierre Maret Delatour to Jean Philippe Grondel, to collect debt due in France. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, appeared Mr. Pierre Maret Delatour, Captain of the Colonial Troops, who by these presents constituted as his general and special attorney Mr. Jean Philippe Grondel, Captain commander of the Fourth Company of the Swiss Regiment De Hal-

will, garrisoned in this Colony, to whom he granted full authority and power to receive for his account the sums represented by bills of exchange that are in his possession and that were drawn by Mr. Pascalis De la Barre, Captain of the Militia and of the Coast-guard in this Colony, upon Mr. Pascalis de Lassetiere, Ecuyer, Councillor of the King at the Court de Monnoyes, rue Cloitre, St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, Paris, which sums are due to the Constituent by the said drawer, according to the latter's obligation passed before Mr. Chantalou, Royal Notary, on December 1, 1760. The said constituted attorney will, therefore, receive said sums and grant discharges, and in case of default will use all means to effect the collection of same; he was also empowered to compromise, to pass and sign acts and deeds, to constitute, substitute and revoke one or more attorneys; and to do in the Constituent's name and lieu all that will be required for the execution of the present procuration, the latter promising to accept as satisfactory and to approve and ratify all that will be done by his constituted attorney.

Passed in the Notarial Office of New Orleans, on July 6, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, witnesses.

(Signed): Maret Delatour; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 6.

No. 8213. 2 pp.

Procuration by Gilbert Maxent to Pierre Arrivé for settlement of accounts with Laforest. Procuration by Sieur Gilbert Maxent, merchant of this city, to Sr. Pierre Arrivé, also merchant of this city, who, in his capacity of general and special attorney, was granted full power to manage, conclude and settle all the business that the Constituent had with Sr. Laforest; and to undertake any action that may be neces-

sary to carry out the present mandate; and the Constituent promised to approve and ratify in advance all that will be executed by the said attorney.

Done in the Notarial Office of this city on July 6, 1762, before the Royal Notary, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, competent witnesses.

(Signed): Bary; Maxent; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 7.

No. 8215. 2 pp.

Procuration by Jean Arnoud Valentin Bobé Descloseaux to Jean Baptiste Claude Bobé Descloseaux, his father, residing in Paris, to collect his salary which is in arrears.

Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in this city, appeared Sieur Jean Arnoud Valentin Bobé Descloseaux, Clerk of the Marine in this Colony, acting Commissioner in Mobile, and at present in this city, who, by these presents, constituted as his general and special attorney Mr. Jean Baptiste Claude Bobé Descloseaux, his father, former Commissioner of the Marine in this Colony, and now residing in Paris or Ver-

sailles, to whom he granted full authority and power to receive and collect, in the name and behalf of the Constituent, from the Treasurers General of the French Colonies in America or from other officials in charge of payment of salaries, the salary due him in his capacity of Clerk, and to act herein in accordance with the official attestation of the Treasurer of the Province of Louisiana, that the said salary had not heretofore been paid, which attestation will be delivered together with the present deed to the constituted attorney, so that it may be presented to the aforesaid Treasurers General or to other officials in charge of payment of salaries or to whomsoever it may concern. The appointed attorney was empowered to receive all or part of the said salary and to grant valid discharges for the sums paid to him; and to do all that could and would be done by the Constituent himself, who promised hereby to accept as satisfactory and to ratify all that will be executed by said attorney.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 7, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, witnesses.

(Signed): Bary; Bobé; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 9. No. 8217. 3 pp. Extract from the Records of the Registry of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana of January 8, 1759: Discharge by Arnaud Cochon to Pierre Duvergés, on ar obligation contracted in 1759. I, the undersigned, do declare that Mr. Henry Decous, merchant of New Orleans, before leaving for France, delivered to me two notes accepted by Mr. Demurat, former Captain of the Colonial Troops: one for the sum of 5750 livres in behalf

of Mr. Cochon and endorsed to the order of said Decous; and the other for the sum of 200 livres in behalf of Mr. Decous, who obtained two decisions by the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana in regard to said notes, and who also delivered to me the documents concerning the said decisions. I do declare and bind myself to recover the amounts of said notes together with interest and costs; and, after deduction in my behalf of the customary commission, to remit the balance of said proceeds to Mr. Roberjot, Chief Clerk of the Province of La Guyenne, by means of bills of exchange.

Passed in New Orleans, on January 6, 1759.

Approved, with the exception of the word "interest", the recovery of which I will endeavor to effect. (Signed): Belot.

Copy of Extract delivered to Sr. Cochon at New Orleans, on June 3, 1762, (Signed): Chantalou, Clerk.

Discharge on above obligations.

Today, July 9, 1762, in the morning, in the Notarial Office of this city, appeared Sieur Arnaud Cochon, shipmaster, acting

under procuration of Sr. Nicolas Cochon, also shipmaster, copy of said procuration being hereto annexed, who acknowledged having received today in cash from Sr. Pierre Duvergés, city employee, the sum of 6262 livres, 2 sols and one denier, in full payment of two notes accepted by Mr. Demurat: one for the sum of 5750 livres, and the other for the sum of 200 livres, in behalf of Sr. Henry Decous, former merchant of this city, which sums were recovered by Sr. Belot, former Secretary of Mr. Rochemore, for whom (Belot) said Mr. Duvergés is acting. The difference between the amount of the two notes and the aforesaid sum of 6262 livres, 2 sols and one denier, is the result of the interest mentioned in the above document. Sr. Arnoud Cochon, in the name of Sr. Nicolas Cochon, granted full release for said sum to Sr. Duvergés and to whomsoever else it may concern.

Act passed in New Orleans, on said day, month and year, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, witnesses.

(Signed): Bary; Chiron; A. Cochon; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 10.

No. 8218. 2 pp.

Ratification by
Isaac Monsanto
of discharge
granted by his
proxy, Francisco
Xavier de Acosta,
to Francois
Caroujat Beauchamp,
merchant of Portau-Prince, Santo
Domingo.

On This 10th day of July 1762, before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Sieur Isaac Monsanto, merchant of this city, who declared that, having perused and examined the agreement and discharge executed before Mr. Carlet, Notary at Port-au-Prince, Island and Coast of St. Domingo, between Sr. Francisco Xavier De Acosta, acting under his procuration, and Sr. Francois Caroujat

Beauchamp, merchant of that place, on October 28, 1761, said act containing the clause that Sr. De Acosta was to give valid release in the name and behalf of Sieur Monsanto & Company, and mentioning Sr. Charles Sarrezin, merchant of Port-au-Prince, as De Acosta's warrantor, by these presents signified his approval of and ratified all that had been done by Sr. De Acosta, by virtue of the aforementioned procuration, and gave acquittance to said Sr. Caroujat Beauchamp for the administration of the vessel "Notre Dame de Douleur", as well as of her cargo, and for all his actions concerning said mandate; consequently Sr. Sarrezin shall be validly and duly released from his bond.

Done and passed on aforesaid day, month and year, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary, and Pierre Chiron, witnesses.

(Signed): Bary; Monsanto et Co.; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 12. No. 8222. 2 pp. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the hereinafter mentioned and undersigned witnesses, personally apApprenticeship contract made by Procureur General Delalande, acting for Francois Tircuit, orphan and minor, with Maurice L'Evêque, a New Orleans shoemaker.

peared Mr. Delalande, Councillor of the Superior Council, acting Procureur General of the King, stipulating in the name and behalf of Francois Tircuit, minor son of the late Antoine Tircuit, who died in Illinois. With the consent of said Francois

Tircuit, who also is present, said Sieur Procureur General and Maurice L'Evêque, shoemaker of this city, have reached the following agreement:

Maurice L'Evêque will accept and take Francois Tircuit as apprentice for a term of five years, to start from this day and to end on July 12, 1767, without interruption, during which time he promised and obligated himself to teach him his shoemaker trade, without concealing anything appertaining to it, and to enable him to earn his own living by the end of said term.

Maurice L'Evêque shall take care of the boy during both health and sickness, and shall furnish him with food, clothing and medicines; and, should the apprentice become sick for a period lasting more than fifteen days, he will be held at the end of the present contract to make up for the time lost, as he will be held to replace his absence in case of loss of time due to libertinism, debauchery or any other cause; it being understood that if the apprentice should quit his master, the Procureur General will compel the boy to return to him, under penalty of indemnity.

The price of the apprenticeship was fixed in the sum of 1500 livres, which L'Evêque will receive from the funds belonging to the said minor and apprentice, in two equal installments, viz: one half of said amount to be paid at present, and the other half at the end of the apprenticeship. This agreement was made by the said contracting parties, and was executed on said day, month and year, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, competent witnesses.

(Signed): Moris; Delalande; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

K

July 12.

No. 8225. 3 pp.

Procuration of Francois Le Beau, physician and botanist, to his wife in France, for collecting his salary which is in arrears. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, appeared Mr. Francois Le Beau, physician and botanist of the King in this province, residing in this city, who, by these presents, constituted as his general and special attorney, Madame Christine Cretel, his wife, residing in Pont de Beauvoisin, in Dauphiné, whom he authorized and em-

powered to receive and collect, in his name and for his account. from Messieurs the Treasurers General of the French Colonies in America, or from other officials charged with payment of salaries, the salary due him by the Royal Exchequer in his capacity of Botanist of Louisiana, and this, according to the official attestation of the Treasurer of this Colony that the said salary had not heretofore been paid, which document will be delivered, together with the present act of procuration to said Madame, who was constituted attorney, so that she will be able to present it to the said Treasurers General or to other officials charged with paying salaries, and who was empowered to receive the whole or any part of said salary and to give good and valid discharges. And in the event of her absence or her incapacity to act, she will have the power to appoint one or more attorneys and to revoke said appointments. The principal promised to accept as satisfactory and to approve and ratify all that will be executed by his constituted attorney, even if not specifically mentioned by these presents.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 12, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, witnesses.

(Signed): Le Beau; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 13.

No. 8226. 8 pp.

Muster roll of the privateer schooner "Le Petit Copy of the Muster roll of the privateer schooner "Le Petit St. Antoine" of Portau-Prince, Island of St. Domingo, commanded by Mr. Gerome Mathutique:

Major Officers: Gerome Mathutique, Captain; Julien Benoist, Second Captain; St. Antoine", deposited in the Notarial Office by Don Miguel Alonso Demena. Rocq Mourqueras, First Lieutenant; Michel Alonzo, Second Lieutenant.

Petty Officers: Baptiste Cable, first mate; Armand Cadet, master gunner; Jean Dominique, master carpenter; Pierre Morette, coxswain.

Sailors: Louis Bernier, Lapointe, Jacques, Etienne Erminaux, Jean Pluganau, Pierre Mirande, Jean Garcy, Jean Macon, ¾ of total share due him; George Dominique, Antoine, negro, cabin boy, ½ of total share due him; Delone Garonne, Benitte Sonette, ¾ of total share due him; Antoine Silva, ¾ of total share due him; Francois Guenet, Jean Felix, George Fournier, Francois Arnaut, Pierre Berton, Jean Charron, George Anglais, ¾ of total share due him; Pierre Lacoste, Prize Captain.

Certification.

June 10, 1762.—I Certify the present muster roll to be an exact copy of the original. (Signed): Gerome Mathutique.

Another certification.

July 13, 1762.—The Present muster roll is taken from the original signed by Gerome Mathutique, in testimony whereof

we assure that credit may be given to it. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Laclede.

(Translator's Note: This last certification appears in the margin of the document.—G.L.)

Translation of documents in connection with the operations of the above ship. Translation of divers sales passed in the name of Michel Alonse Demena by some Spanish seamen of the privateer "Le Petit St. Antoine", Island of St. Domingo, commanded by Gerome Mathutique:

Document marked "A" I, Pierre De Mirando, declare that I give my power to Michel Alonse de Mene, my uncle, so that he may receive, in my

name and behalf, the share of the prize coming to me from two vessels that we sent to Port-au-Prince, said vessels being under the command of the Prize Captains named Mr. Sanrémo and Lacoste, who belong to the crew of the privateer "Le Petit St. Antoine", commanded by Captain Gerome Mathutique. And to relieve said Alonzo Demene of any objection to his authority, I give him an order that was given to me by said Captain Mathutique; and, in order to confirm it, I gave him the present one on the Mississippi on June 14, 1762. And, as I do not know how to sign, I made my mark, which I acknowledge as my signature.

We certify that the present translation was made from the original, word for word. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Monsanto et Co.; Laclede Liguest.

Gerome Mathutique's order to Mr. Lucque:

Monsieur Lucque Gatan, you will deliver to Pierre Mirande, or to his order, his share of prize. New Orleans, June 10, 1762.

We certify that the present order is an exact copy of the original annexed to the aforesaid order or authorization, which Pierre De Mirande gave to Alonse Demene, his uncle. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Monsanto et Co.; Laclede Liguest.

Document

On the Mississippi, June 8, 1762: I Pierre Modet, declare that I sold and transferred the prize share of Jean Plugano and that

of Jean Garcie, from Campeche, and also the half-share coming to Antoine, negro, to all of whom I paid the price of their portion, as it is known to the Captain who will sign the present document, to whom I shall deliver the receipts granted to me by said persons; and for the sake of evidence I executed the present document on the Mississippi in the presence of the undersigned witnesses: Captain Mathutique, First Lieutenant Roque, and gunner Cadet. Signed in the original: Pierre Modet; Mathutique; Armand Cadet; Rocq Morqueras.

We certify that the document hereinabove was translated word for word from the Spanish original. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Monsanto et Co.; Laclede Liguest.

Document marked "C". I, under my cross-mark, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, give full power to Pierre Mondet to receive the share

coming to me from the prize taken during the cruise of the privateer schooner "St. Antoine", commanded by Captain Mathutique, in civil life known as Monsieur Lonet. Cross-mark X of said Jean Garcie; signed as witnesses: Mathutique, Michel Alonse, Lapointe, and others whose names could not be deciphered.

We certify that this is a copy word for word of the original French document. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Monsanto et Co.; Laclede Liguest.

I, Antoine, negro, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, give full power to Sieur Pierre Mondet to receive the share coming to me from the prize taken by the privateer schooner "St. Antoine", commanded by Mr. Gerome Mathutique, in civil life known as Mr. Lone, resident of Port-au-Prince. Passed in New Orleans, on May 18, 1762. As I do not know how to sign, I made my mark. Signed as witnesses: Mathutique, L'Anier, and others whose names could not be deciphered.

We certify that the above document was copied word for word from the original. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Monsanto et Co.; Laclede Liguest.

Document marked "E". I, Jean Plougano, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, grant full power to Pierre Modet to receive and collect the

share coming to me from the prize taken by the privateer schooner "St. Antoine", commanded by Mr. Gerome Mathutique, in civil life known as Mr. Longue, resident of Port-au-Prince. Done on the Mississippi, on March 23, 1762. Signed by Jean Plougano; and, as witnesses, by: Lapointe, Mathutique, and others whose names could not be deciphered.

We certify that the present document was copied word for word from the original. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Monsanto et Co.; Laclede Liguest.

Document marked "F". I, Jean Domingo, carpenter of the privateer schooner named "St. Antoine", commanded by Captain Gerome Mathu-

tique, as I will not return on cruise, am selling the share coming to me from a vessel that we sent to Port-au-Prince Francais, under the command of Mr. Lacosta, appointed Prize Captain, to Michel Alonse Demene, who has an interest in said vessel, for the sum of seventy-five piastres, which said Alonse paid me in cash; and the present transaction is understood to be at the risk of said Alonse, that is to say, in case said boat has been lost, said Demene will lose the money he paid me; and if the boat has safely reached her destination, the profit that may

be obtained will be earned by him, as I make a true donation of same to him; and to give proper form to the present document, I signed it on the Mississippi, on May 12, 1762, said Captain Gerome Mathutique and his Lieutenant Rocques Morquiere being witnesses. The original signed by Jean Domingue, Mathutique and Rocq Morquiere.

We certify that the present translation is true and correct, having been made word for word. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Monsanto et Co.; Laclede Liguest.

Document marked "G". Mississippi, June 11, 1762. I, Julien Bernard, Second Captain of the privateer schooner "St. Antoine", commanded by

Captain Jerome Mathutique, residing at Port-au-Prince, and named in civil life Mr. Lucq, declare that through the said Captain, I have to remit to Michel Alonse Demene, out of the share coming to me from the prize taken by said privateer schooner, the amount of piastres gourdes that he loaned me; and in order to give to this document the proper form and tenor, I had it drafted on the Mississippi on the aforesaid day, month and year; and, as I do not know how to sign, I made my mark, which I acknowledge as my signature, in the presence of the witnesses, Sieurs Pierre Mirande and Francois Carere, who signed in the original: Francisque Carere.

We certify that this is a translation, word for word, of the original Spanish document. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Monsanto et Co.; Laclede Liguest.

Certification of deposit of above documents in the Notarial Office in New Orleans. Deposited in Our Office, to be preserved together with the other documents, by Don Miguel Alonso Demena, to whom I delivered the original documents, nine in number, all certified by me, undersigned

Notary. New Orleans, July 13, 1762. (Signed): Miguel Alonso De Mena; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

(Translator's Note: The proper names mentioned in the above set of documents are variously spelled. The proper form of one of the important names appears to be "Miguel Alonzo Demena". The assumed name of another of the

important figures in the documents is spelled consistently "Gerome (or Jerome) Mathutique"; but the correct name of the same individual is variously spelled as "Lucque", "Lone", "Lone", "Longue", and "Lucq". This consistency in the spelling of the assumed name of the Captain is interesting when compared with the many forms given to his real name.—G.L.)

July 15. No. 8227. 2 pp.

Obligation of Guillaume Duvergé Marie and wife to Philippe de Mandeville. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, personally appeared Sieur Guillaume Duvergé Marie, first pilot of the river St. Louis, of age and in the full enjoyment of his rights, son of the late Sr. Bertrand La Tour Marie, in his lifetime Crier of the

Court in the jurisdiction of Rennes in Brittany, and of Dame Julienne Hubert; and Dame Rozette Busson, wife of said Guillaume Duvergé Marie, who duly authorized her.

The two appearers confessed and acknowledged that they owed Mr. Philippe, Ecuyer, Sieur de Mandeville, Lieutenant of the detached Marine Troops garrisoned in this Colony, the sum of 3000 livres, Spanish currency, which sum they have heretofore received from him in cash, and which they promised and obligated themselves to restore and deliver to said Sieur de Mandeville at Rennes in Brittany; in security whereof the appearers granted a mortgage on all their property, movable and immovable, present and future.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 15, 1762, in the afternoon, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, witnesses.

(Signed): Gme. Duverje Marie; Chiron; Bary; Rose Duverje Busson; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 15. No. 8228. 3 pp.

Procuration by Francois Simars de Bellisle to his wife, for Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Mr. Francois Simars De Bellisle, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, former Major of the Colonial Troops, residing in this city, who, by these presents, constituted as his general and special attorney, Madame Marguerite Enoult De Livaudais, his wife, to whom he granted full power to manage and administer, in his name and stead, all his business in this colony; and to do all that he himself could and would do if he were present; promising to accept as satisfactory and to approve and ratify all that will be executed by the said attorney.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city on July 15, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, competent witnesses.

(Signed): Seimars de Bellile; Bary; Chiron: Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

This document is somewhat damaged, but is still quite legible.

July 15.

No. 8229. 4 pp.

Procuration by Antoine Philippe Marigny de Mandeville to his wife, for management of his affairs in Louisiana. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the hereinafter mentioned and undersigned witnesses, personally appeared Mr. Antoine Philippe Marigny De Mandeville, Lieutenant of the Colonial Troops, residing on his plantation, situated about one league and a half from

this city, on this side of the River below this city, who declared that, being the owner of several landed properties situated in this colony and having other interests which, in consequence of his absence, could be in danger or deteriorate, by these presents, constituted as his general and special attorney, Madame Francoise Delille, his wife, to whom he granted full power to conduct and manage, in his name and stead, all his properties and business in this colony; to make and receive payments; to receive and give valid discharges, etc.; promising to accept as satisfactory and to approve and ratify all that will be executed by the said attorney.

Done on the aforementioned plantation of the appearer, where the Royal Notary repaired to execute these presents, on

July 15, 1762, in the morning. Witnesses: Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron.

(Signed): Philippe Demandeville; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 16.

3 pp.

Marriage Contract between Pierre Besse and Lénore Fenetau. Marriage Contract executed before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in this city, between Sieur Pierre Besse, soldier in Mr. Chabrillard's Company of the detached Marine Troops garrisoned in this colony, of age and in the full enjoyment of his rights, son of the late Sr. Jean Besse and of Dame

Jeanne Joubéniac, native of Bergerac in Perigord, parish of Cresse, Bishopric of Perigueux; and Demoiselle Léonore Fenetau, minor daughter of Jean Fenetau and of Marie Fretilliere, native of the Parish of Sainte Vie, Bishopric of Ageu. duly authorized and assisted by her parents, who were also present and stipulated for her.

Pierre Besse assisted by: Sieur Nicolas Crilleux called Deroins; Sr. Pierre Raby, both inhabitants of this city; and by Sr. Jean Lacour called Dabsarg, Sergeant Major of the Colonial Troops: his friends, for want of relatives. Demoiselle Fenetau assisted by her said parents, by Sr. Antoine Marmillion and by Sr. Marin Bary, her friends, for want of relatives.

Executed in the Notarial Office of this city on July 16, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Lenormand and Pierre Chiron competent witnesses.

(Signed): Nicolas Crilleux; Peire Raby; Antoine Marmillion; Lenormand; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

The contracting parties, Pierre Besse and Léonore Fenetau, and the latter's parents declared that they could neither write nor sign.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 19.

No. 8235. 3 pp.

Marriage Contract between Abraham Guidroz and Catherine Buquoy. Marriage Contract executed before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, between Sieur Abraham Guidroz, native of Moudon, canton of Berne, in Switzerland, soldier in the Fourth Company of the Swiss Regiment De Halwill, garrisoned in this city, of age and in the enjoyment of

his full rights, son of the late Jean Pierre Guidroz and of the late Ursule Pocterlin; and Catherine Buquoy, widow of the late Louis Roquigny, in his lifetime pilot at La Balize.

Abraham Guidroz assisted by Sieur Monget called La Lime and by Michel Friloux called Saint Eloy, both residents of this city, for want of relatives. Catherine Buquoy assisted by Sieur Henry Buquoy called Plaisance, her father; by Sr. Francois Roquigny, her brother-in-law; by Sr. Jean Baptiste Montanary called Toussaint; and by Sr. Jean Pierre Aubert: all inhabitants of this city, for want of relatives.

Act done and passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 19, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, competent witnesses.

(Signed): Abraham Guidroz; Catherine Buquoy; H. Buquoy; R. Roquigny; Montanari; Michel Friloux; Monget; Jean P. Aubert; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 19.

No. 8237. 5 pp.

Marriage Contract between Jean Arnould Valentin Bobé Descloseaux and Francoise Bernoudy. Marriage Contract executed before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in Mobile, between Mr. Jean Arnould Valentin Bobé, Clerk of the Marine, acting Commissioner at Mobile, twenty-nine years old, son of Mr. Jean Baptiste Claude Bobé Descloseaux, former Commissioner of the Marine in this Province, and of Dame De Lorme; and

Demoiselle Francoise Bernoudy, fifteen years old, native of Mobile, daughter of the late Mr. Francois Cezaire Bernoudy, in his lifetime keeper of the King's Stores and Treasurer of the King in Mobile, and of Dame Louise Marguerite Belsaguy;

the said Demoiselle being assisted by Mr. Maurice Durand, her tutor, Officer of the Militia, who stipulated for her.

Sieur Bobé assisted by Mr. Pierre Annibal Develle, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Lieutenant of the King and Commandant at Mobile; by Mr. De Bonnelle, Infantry Captain; by Mr. Guetlin, commandant of the Swiss troops garrisoned at Mobile. Demoiselle Bernoudy assisted by Mr. Aubert, Aide-Major of Mobile; by Mr. Pechon, Officer of the Infantry Troops garrisoned at Mobile, her brother-in-law; and by Sieurs Francois and Bernard Bernoudy, her brothers.

Act executed in Mobile, at the residence of the said Sieur Jean Arnould Valentin Bobé, in the morning, on July 19, 1762, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses.

Signed in the original, which is preserved in the Registry of Mobile: Bobé; Françoise Bernoudy; Develle; Aubert; Conte Pechon; Bernoudy; Pechon; Volant Guetlin; Guetlin; De Bonnelle; Bernoudy Bernard; and the undersigned Notary.

(Signed): Roujot, Notary.

Request that the

June 2, 1766.—I Request, in the King's name, that the present Contract of Marriage be recorded in the Register of Insinuations, so that the donation set forth in the same may obtain its full effect, in accordance with the law and the clauses stipulated. New Orleans, June 2, 1766. (Signed): Lafreniere.

Certification

June 2, 1766.—Recorded in the Registry of the Superior Council, in V. 4, by virtue of the order of the Council, dated June 2, 1766. (Signed): Garic, Clerk.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

The writing in this document is fading away, making it difficult to read.

July 20.

No. 8239. 3 pp.

This Day, July 20, 1762, in the morning, personally appeared in the Registry of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, Mr. Claude Renaudin, inhabiDeposit in the Registry by Claude Renaudin of 950 livres which he owed to Madame Dauberville, who has left Louisians. tant of this colony, who declared that when Madame Dauberville departed from this city he was indebted to her in the sum of 950 livres, which he was willing to pay at that time; but said Madame, out of

kindness to him, said that she was not in need of money and that she did not know how to use said sum. The appearer being now about to set out for Tombuté, and wishing to discharge his obligation, offered the payment of said amount of 950 livres to Sr. De Grandpré, but he declined to receive it. Consequently the appearer was forced to present a request, on the 13th of the present month, and gave notice to Sr. De Grandpré that he was to receive the said sum, in default whereof the appearer would deposit the same in the Registry. Sr. De Grandpré replied that he refused to accept and receive the said sum in colonial currency, whereas the appearer had received the said sum in France; and the latter insisted that he could not see any difference between the currency of France and the legal tender of the Colony, as this was not affected by any decree of the King. Therefore he requested the Clerk to receive in deposit, at the risk and peril of whom it may concern, the said sum of 950 livres, which he actually presented in notes of the colonial currency.

Upon the appearer's request a copy of the present act was delivered to him, to be used in case of need. And he signed, together with the Clerk.

(Signed): Renaudin; Broutin, Clerk.

Garic's discharge to Broutin, who transferred to his successor the 950 livres, less fee. May 27, 1763.—Received from Sr. Broutin the sum of 902 livres and 10 sols, hereinabove mentioned, Sr. Broutin having deducted his fee at the rate of five per cent.

New Orleans, May 27, 1763. (Signed): Garic, Clerk.

Renaudin's acquittance to Garic for the above sum.

March 15, 1764.—I, Claude Renaudin, confess and acknowledge having received from Mr. Garic, Notary, the sum mentioned in the above act, which sum I de-

posited in the Registry of the Council for the purpose of effecting my release. Done and passed in the presence of Sieurs Henry Gardrat and Leonard Mazange, competent witnesses, residing in this city. New Orleans, March 15, 1764. (Signed): Henry Gardrat; Renoudin; Mazange.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 21. No. 8240. 5 pp.

Acquittance to Denis Braud by Bernard La Vaud acting for his father, Francois La Vaud of Bordeaux. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, personally appeared Sieur Bernard La Vaud, merchant, at present in this city, in the name of his father, Sr. Francois La Vaud, merchant of Bordeaux, acting

under a procuration from him, which power of attorney is annexed to these presents.

The appearer declared that he settled accounts this day with Sr. Denis Braud, merchant of this city, who had formerly received power of attorney from the said Sr. Francois La Vaud and in said capacity had managed and conducted his principal's plantation with its dependencies and appurtenances, as well as some properties in this city. The appearer confessed and acknowledged to have received from Sr. Braud the said plantation together with negroes, cattle, furniture, utensils and implements, and also the properties situated in this city, and granted him a valid discharge, promising to have him also acquitted by whomsoever it may concern.

Executed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 21, 1762. Witnesses: Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron.

(Signed): Bary; B. Lavaud; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

Documents annexed to the above act.

The document annexed to the above act is the power of attorney granted by Sr. Francois Lavaud to his younger son, Bernard Lavaud, and passed in Bordeaux, on

February 11, 1762, before Sr. Rauzan, Royal Notary. Mention is made in this document of the power of attorney previously granted by the same Sr. Francois Lavaud to Sr. Denis Braud, on March 20, 1760, also passed before the said Sr. Rauzan, Royal Notary in Bordeaux. (Signed): Lavaud; Rauzan.

Then follows the legalization or authentication of the above signatures by Joseph Sebastien de la Rose, Councillor of the King in the King's Councils jurisdiction of Bordeaux, presidial president, Lieutenant General of Gueienne, Conservator of the Royal Privileges in the University of Bordeaux, Provost Royal of Lombriere. Dated February 12, 1762. (Signed): Delarose.

In the last part appears the notice given, on June 17, 1762, by Sheriff Marin Lenormand to Sr. Denis Braud, of the power of attorney granted by Francois Lavaud to his son, Bernard Lavaud. (Signed): Lenormand.

July 23. No. 8243. 2 pp.

Transfer and cession of an annuity contract by Claude Joseph de Favrot and wife and Alexandre Francois Joseph de Clouet de Piette and wife to Bernard Lavaud.

Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the undersigned and competent witnesses, personally appeared, on one side, Mr. Claude Joseph De Favrot, Ecuyer, Captain of a Company of the detached Marine Troops garrisoned in this colony, and Dame Louise Elizabeth Brulé, his wife, duly authorized by him; and also Mr. Alexandre Francois Joseph

De Clouet De Piette, Ecuyer, Lieutenant of a Company of said troops, and Dame Louise De Favrot, his wife, duly authorized by him to act herein; on the other side, Sieur Bernard Lavaud, merchant, at present in this city.

Said parties of the first part, by these presents, conjointly transferred, conveyed and surrendered, from now and forever, to the said Sr. Bernard Lavaud, party of the second part, who signified his acceptance, an annuity contract on the city hall of Paris, which contract was formerly for the sum of 8000 livres of capital, and was subsequently reduced to the present amount of 4000 livres of capital, accruing to said Madame Louise Elizabeth Brulé, wife of said Sr. Favrot, who transferred it, as an advance marriage settlement by marriage contract passed on May 8, 1761, to said Madame Louise Favrot, wife of said Sr. De Clouet. The original title of the aforesaid annuity contract, dated December 4, 1729, with its seals and duly registered, was presently delivered to Sr. Lavaud. Said capital settled as an annuity, as well as the annuity itself, was conveyed by the said appearers of the first part to Sr. Lavaud to take ef-

fect from the first of the present month, for the said amount of 4000 livres, which Sr. and Dame De Clouet acknowledged to have received in cash from Sr. Lavaud.

Executed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 23, 1762. Witnesses: Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron.

(Signed): Favrot; Le Ch'er De Clouet; Louise Bruslé De Favrot; B. Lavaud; Louise Favrot De Clouet; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 23.

2 pp.

Testament of Nicolas Adam called Blondin. This Day, July 23, 1762, at nine o'clock in the morning, at the request of Sieur Nicolas Adam called Blondin, residing in this city, the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, repaired to his residence situated

on St. Peter Street, and he found him in bed, ill in body but sound in all his senses, memory and judgment, as he appeared to be to the said Notary and to the undersigned witnesses. And, having recommended his soul to God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, to the Most Holy Virgin Mary and to St. Nicholas, his good Patron Saint, whom he prays to intercede for him to the Divine Majesty, so that his soul may be reckoned among the Christian believers, as he always professed the Catholic Apostolic and Roman faith and intended to die in the same, declared:

That if God disposes of him he wants to be buried in the Cemetery of this Parish, among the Christian believers, with a very simple funeral ceremony;

That he is a widower, and that of his marriage with Marguerite Roy, his wife, he had nine children, all living;

That he has no reason to make his will; but, since all of his children, with one exception, are minors, and his eldest son, a major, does not care to accept the tutorship over his brothers and sisters and to administer their property, he earnestly beseeches the relatives and friends who will be convened for the selection of a tutor, to appoint Sieur Briand, residing in this city, as tutor; and Sieur Laforest, residing also in this city, as under-tutor: these being his most trustworthy friends.

This is all that he has to say concerning his last will, and he prays the judicial authority to see that these presents be executed, as representing his last will; and, after the same was read to him, he stated that he understood it well, and that he had nothing to change, add to, or take away.

Executed at the residence of said Sieur Adam, on the aforesaid day, month and year, in the presence of Mr. Augustin Chantalou, Councillor Assessor of the Superior Council of this Province, and of Sieur Francois Langlois, residing in this city, competent witnesses, who signed together with said Sieur Adam and the Notary.

(Signed): Adam; Chantalou; Langlois; Broutin, Notary.

July 26. No. 8246. 5 pp.

Procuration by Jean Baptiste Grandmaison to Alexis Carlier, for management of his business in Louisiana. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, appeared Monsieur Jean Baptiste Grandmaison, Captain of a company of the Colonial Troops, at present in this city, who, by these presents, appointed and constituted as his general and special

attorney, Monsieur Alexis Carlier, Clerk of the Marine, acting Superintendent in this colony, residing in this city, to whom he granted full authortiy and power to manage and administer, in his name and stead, all his business in this colony, and also to mortgage and sell his movable and immovable property; and to do everything that could be done by the principal himself, who promised to accept as satisfactory and to approve and ratify all that will be performed and effected by said constituted attorney.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 26, 1762, in the morning. Witnesses: Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron.

(Signed): Grandmaison; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary. (Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

Petition by Alexis Carlier to Foucault for permit to sell October 13, 1762.—Petition to Monsieur Foucault, Commissioner of the Marine, acting Intendent and First Judge of the Superior Council of Louisiana:

three pieces of ground in New Orleans, belonging to Grandmaison. Sieur Carlier, Superintendent, has the honor to represent that, by virtue of the hereto annexed procuration of Mr. Grand-

maison, who recently left for France, he desires to sell three pieces of ground together with the buildings and improvements thereon, belonging to the said Mr. Grandmaison, and situated in this city, viz: one on Bourgogne Street, adjoining on one side the property of Sieur Laveau and on the other side the property of Marianne, free negress; another one at the corner of St. Louis and Dauphine streets; and the third at the corner of St. Pierre and Bourgogne streets; but, as the petitioner cannot undertake any action to that effect without your consent, he begs of you, Monsieur, that it may please you to grant him such permit. New Orleans, October 13, 1762. (Signed): A. Carlier.

Permit granted.

October 13, 1762.—Having read the above petition and the procuration annexed thereto, We allow the sale of said

three pieces of ground and buildings thereon, provided the customary formalities are observed and fulfilled. New Orleans, October 13, 1762. (Signed): Foucault.

Public notice of the proposed sale of the property mentioned above. November 1, 1762.—By Virtue of the above order, the Sheriff of the Superior Council published notice, concerning the sale mentioned in the above petition, for three successive Sundays, at the Church

door and at the door of the Council, and no one appeared at the Registry to file opposition. New Orleans, November 1, 1762. (Signed): Lenormand.

July 26. No. 8247. 7 pp.

Procuration by Pierre Henry Derneville to Charles Jean Baptiste Fleuriau for management of his husiness. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Messire Pierre Henry Derneville, former Captain of a company of the detached Marine Troops garrisoned in this colony, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, residing in this city, who, by these presents, constituted as his general and special attorney,

Mr. Charles Jean Baptiste Fleuriau, Lieutenant of said troops,

to whom he granted full power and authority, acting in his stead and name, to conduct and administer all his property and business, of any kind whatsoever; to make all sorts of improvements; to pass and sign acts and deeds and documents of any nature; and to do all that may be required in the premises, without making it necessary to confer upon him any other or more special power than the one contained in these presents; the whole in accord with the draft of a settlement and compromise, dated this day, signed by Sieur Derneville, and deposited in the Notarial Office, of which a document conformable to the original is hereto annexed, with which the aforesaid attorney, Sr. Fleuriau, shall comply in every detail, in regard to Mr. De Reggio, Captain of the Colonial Troops, and said Sr. Derneville and the latter's minor child. And in the event that Sr. De Reggio should make any objection to the aforesaid plan of compromise, the constituted attorney shall refuse to receive anything and to enter into any other form of compromise with Sr. De Reggio, irrespective of all means that might be used to force him to such end; and also the said attorney shall use all means to prevent Sr. De Reggio from selling the plantation belonging to the Constituent, the negroes, negresses, implements, utensils, and whatever else is in general considered as an appurtenance of the plantation, except that the said draft of settlement is carried out and executed in its full form and tenor. And the principal promised to accept as satisfactory and to approve and ratify all that will be done by the aforesaid attorney.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 26, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Francois Logny, competent witnesses, residing in this city.

(Signed): Le Chr. Derneville; Bary; F. Logny; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 26, 1762.—New Plan of Compromise between Messieurs Derneville and De Reggio, for the purpose of settling the litigation pending over the payment due by Mr. De Reggio for the price of the

Draft of the Compromise between Derneville and De Reggio, which was deposited in the Registry by Derneville. property of Sr. Derneville's minor children, which property was sold by him to Sr. De Reggio:

Mr. Derneville, or his constituted attorney, will receive the 10,000 livres deposited in the Registry, as first payment stipulated in the act of sale, and shall give good and valid acquittance;

And, as the interest has become due from January 1st of the present year, and since Mr. De Reggio desires to postpone his second payment to January 1, 1766, which means four full years, consequently he shall pay interest, for four full years, on the remaining 30,000 livres, in the sum of 6000 livres, instead of the 4500 that he offers to pay to the aforesaid attorney, who shall receive the specified sum of 6000 livres and grant good and valid release;

On January 1, 1766, Mr. De Reggio shall pay to the undertutor of Sr. Derneville's minor children, the sum of 10,000 livres in gold or silver currency of France, or in kind by means of marketable Indigo of good quality at five livres per pound, or by means of peltries at forty-five sols per pound; the whole payable to the aforesaid attorney;

On January 1, 1767, Sr. De Reggio shall pay, as hereinabove explained, the sum of 11,000 livres, for both interest and principal;

Finally, in the year 1768 the last payment shall be made in the sum of 10,500 livres, for both principal and interest, as it is explained above, viz: in gold or silver currency of France, or by means of marketable Indigo of good quality at 100 sols per pound, or by means of peltries at forty-five sols per pound.

Drafted in New Orleans, on July 26, 1762.

(Signed): Le Chev. D'Erneville.

Certificate of deposit of the Compromise in the Registry. July 26, 1762.—Deposited by Mr. Derneville in Our Office, on July 26, 1762, a copy having been delivered to him. (Signed): Le Chev. D'Erneville; (Signature of Clerk missing.)

Fleuriau's discharge to De Reggio for 20,000 livres. August 8, 1763.—On August 8, 1763, Mr. Charles Jean Baptiste Fleuriau, acting in the name and under procuration of Sr. Derneville, received from Mr. De Reggio, on account of the sum of 30,000

livres explained in the preceding document, the sum of 20,000 livres and granted valid acquittance to said Sr. De Reggio, promising to have him also released by and toward whomsover it may concern, without prejudice, however, to the remaining sum of 10,000 livres and interest, which Sr. De Reggio still owes, as it is explained in the aforesaid compromise and settlement.

Executed in the Notarial Office in New Orleans, on said day, month and year, in the presence of Sieurs Pierre Bary and Joseph Becat, competent witnesses, residing in this city.

(Signed): Fleuriau; Becat; Bary; Garic, Notary.

July 27. No. 8249. 3 pp.

Procuration by Guy Philippe to Madame Baudet, for settling of account due him in France. Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, personally appeared Mr. Guy Philippe, Officer of the Colonial Troops, who, by these presents, appointed and constituted as his general and special attorney, Madame widow Baudet, to whom he

granted full power and authority to receive, in his stead and name, from Madame Anne Payen Philippe, his mother, residing in Paris or Versailles, the sum of 315 livres, that he owes to Mr. Duplessis, Knight of St. Louis, Captain of the Colonial Troops, who gave instructions, by letter, to said Madame Baudet, to receive the said sum and to use it as he explained in his correspondence. The said sum of 350 livres is to be paid to said attorney out of what is coming to the principal from the succession of the late Mr. Philippe, his father, in his lifetime quartermaster of the King, and the attorney will give valid acquittance, as if it were given by the principal himself; and in case of default or refusal of said payment by his mother or by other representatives of the succession, the appointed attorney will have her or them compelled thereto by all means; and in general said attorney is empowered to do all that the principal himself would and could do if he were present and

acting for himself; the latter promising to accept as satisfactory and to approve and ratify all that will be executed by virtue of these presents.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 27, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, competent witnesses, residing in this city.

(Signed): Chiron; Philippe; Bary; Broutin, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés, De Reggio; Ducyos.

July 30. No. 8252. 1 p.

Acquittance by Pierre Moro and wife to Madame Soileau. Before the Royal Notary of Pointe Coupée, personally appeared, on one side, Pierre Moro, inhabitant of False River, and his wife, Marianne Deslattes; and, on the other side, Madame widow Soileau.

Mr. and Dame Moro, by these presents, confessed and acknowledged to have re-

ceived from widow Soileau the sum of 600 livres, that she owed them following an exchange of lands effected by act passed before the said Notary on November 10, 1759; and they granted acquittance to her and to whomsoever else it may concern.

Executed at said Post of Pointe Coupée, on July 30, 1762, in the morning, in the presence of Sieurs Louis Ducrest called Armand and Pierre Molais, competent witnesses, residing at said Post, who signed together with the Notary. The interested parties declared that they could neither write nor sign.

(Signed): Ducrest; Molais; Benoist, Notary.

(Signed, in margin): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

August 11. No. 8258. 7 pp.

Marriage Contract between Philippe Frederic Matisse and Marie Catherine Sauvage. Marriage Contract executed before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, between Sieur Philippe Frederic Matisse, inhabitant of the German Coast, widower of the late Catherine Bernard, on one side; and Demoiselle Marie Catherine Sauvage,

native of St. Blesse, near Gilbert, in Uzembourg, minor daughter of the late Pierre Sauvage and of Marie Jeanne Aniesse Léonard, duly authorized by Sir Barthelemy Garret, her stepfather, on the other side.

Sieur Matisse assisted by Sr. Simon Laurent, and by André Girod, both inhabitants of this city, his friends, for want of relatives. Demoiselle Sauvage assisted by said Sr. Barthelemy Garret, her stepfather; by Nicolas Caillaux; and by Antoine Marmillon: all inhabitants of this city, her friends, for want of relatives.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on August 11, 1762, in the morning, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, competent witnesses, residing in this city.

(Signed): Marie Catherine Sauvage; Nicolas Caillaux; André Giraut; Antoine Marmillion; Simon; Bary; Chiron; Broutin, Notary.

Philippe Frederic Matisse and Barthelemy Garret stated that they could neither write nor sign.

Order for recordation of donation set in the above contract. September 2, 1762.—Considering the donation set forth in the present contract of marriage between Philippe Frederic Matisse and Marie Catherine Sauvage; and having heard the conclusions of the

Procureur General of the King, the Council ordered that it be recorded, so that it may obtain its full and complete effect. Given in the Council-chamber, on September 2, 1762. (Signed): Foucault.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

The above document is written in small scholarly script, but it is going to pieces, the ink having eaten through the paper; however, it is still legible.

Inventory of the plantation of Philippe Frederic Matisse. Annexed to the above Marriage Contract.

August 9, 1762.—Inventory of the Plantation of Philippe Frederic (Matisse), widower of the late Catherine Antony (Bernard), concerning furniture, utensils, horned cattle, sheep, hogs, fowls; made

in the presence of Sieurs Louis Falgous, Pierre Antoine Brou and André Fredericq, viz:

One plantation adjoining the property of his mother on the upper side, and the property of Sieur Vergille on the lower side, measuring three arpents frontage by a depth of forty arpents, together with improvements consisting of one frame house, twenty-four feet long by sixteen feet in width, furnished with a brick chimney;

One warehouse, twenty feet long and nine feet wide;

One rice-mill; one small cabin; one brick oven; one cattle pen;

An old negro, about sixty years of age;

One cypress armoire bottom, with lock and key;

One cupboard with lock;

One bed with a straw-mattress and two buffalo skins;

Five iron pots, four buckets, and one laundry tub with iron hoops;

One cypress table; two cypress chests with iron hoops; two guns; one frying-pan; one gridiron; one pair of andirons; one pair of flatirons; one brass candlestick; twelve tin spoons;

Four hatchets; one small axe; one flat adz; one plane; and one fly-wheel;

One large plane, one verloppe, one pair of joiner's planes; one joiner's vise; four carpenter's chisels; one pair of compasses; four pickaxes in bad condition;

One small grindstone with its iron crank;

Two flat spades in bad condition;

Two demijohns, fifteen bottles;

Three young cows and an old one;

One three-year-old bull, and seven calves;

One old horse, one mare, two colts; twelve ewes, some large and some small; two large hogs, four small pigs, two sows:

Ten young turkey-hens, thirty laying hens, two large roosters, seven ducks, twenty young fowls.

The present Inventory was executed at the plantation of Philippe Frederic, widower, in the presence of the above-mentioned and undersigned witnesses, on August 9, 1762.

(Signed): Falgous; Brou; André Fredericq; Le Borne.

Document charred at the lower end.

August 14.

No. 8259. 5 pp.

Marriage Contract between Joseph Caillier and Genevieve Montanary. Marriage contract executed before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, between Sieur Joseph Caillier, native and resident of the Parish of St. Louis of this city, Bishopric of Quebec, minor son of Sr. Jean Caillier and of Dame Marie Francoise Frouin,

both being present and stipulating for their minor son, on one side; and Demoiselle Genevieve Montanary, native of this city, Parish of St. Louis, minor daughter of Sr. Jean Baptiste Montanary and of Dame Marguerite Tallon, both being present and stipulating for their minor daughter, on the other side.

Sr. Caillier assisted by his aforesaid parents; by Sr. Jean Baptiste Bosseron; and by Sr. Jean La Sablonnier: all residents of this city, his friends, for want of relatives. D'lle Montanary assisted by her aforementioned parents; by Sr. Claude Pincedéz, her cousin; and by Sr. Claude Boutet called Lalime: all inhabitants of this city.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on August 14, 1762, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Pierre Chiron, competent witnesses, residing here. And all signed, with the exception of Madame Marie Francoise Frouin and Madame Margueritte Talon, who stated that they could neither write nor sign.

(Signed): Joseph Caillier; Genevieve Montanari; Caillier; Jean Montanari; Bosseron; Painsdez; La Sablonniere; Boutte; Bary; Chiron; Boulonnois; Broutin, Notary.

Above marriage contract ordered by the Council to be recorded.

September 2, 1762.—Considering the donation set forth in the above contract of marriage between Joseph Caillier and Genevieve Montanary; and having heard the conclusions of the Procureur General

of the King, the Council ordered that it be recorded so that it may obtain its full and complete effect. Given in the Council-chamber, on September 2, 1762. (Signed): Foucault.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

August 17.

No. 8255. 6 pp.

Petition of Antoine Gosson for order compelling Dupart to deliver to him a sum due from succession of father of petitioner's wife. Petition to Mr. Foucault, Commissioner Intendant of the Province of Louisiana:

The undersigned, Antoine Gosson, has the honor to represent to Your Highness that he married Francoise Gerderin, minor daughter of the late Gerderin called La Grenade, and that the sum of 354 livres, coming from the sale of a house belonging to his wife's father's succession,

was paid to and received by Sieur Dupard, resident of this city; and the undersigned very humbly prays that it may please you to order Sr. Dupard to remit said sum to the petitioner, who will grant him release in the Registry; the petitioner shall never cease to offer up prayers for the preservation of your august self. And you will render justice. (Signed): Gosson.

Petition granted, and above sum ordered paid. August 16, 1762.—We Order Sr. Dupard to make up his accounts with Sr. Gosson and to deliver to him the sum of 354 livres, which has been entrusted to

him by the representative of the succession of the late Gerderin, father of petitioner's wife; for which sum Sr. Dupard shall be validly released toward said succession by Gosson's acknowledgement and receipt. New Orleans, August 16, 1762. (Signed): Foucault.

Acquittance by Antoine Gosson and wife to Pierre Delille called Dupart. August 17, 1762.—This Day, August 17, 1762, before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Antoine Gosson and his wife, Francoise Gerderin.

duly authorized by him to act herein, who stated and acknowledged having received today in cash from Sieur Pierre Delille called Dupart, the sum of 354 livres in colonial currency, which had been entrusted to him by the succession of the late Gerderin, father of Gosson's wife; and for said sum Sr. Dupart was acquitted by the appearers, who promised to have him also released toward and against whomsoever it may concern. Done in the Notarial Office of this city, on said day, month and year, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Bary and Michel Friloux called Saint Eloy, competent witnesses. (Signed): Gosson; Bary; Michel Frilous; Broutin, Notary.

August 20.

No. 8261. 2 pp.

Marriage Contract between Simon Hubardeau and Pelagie Gautier. Marriage Contract executed before the Royal Notary of the Post of Pointe Coupée, between Simon Dhubardeau, of age and in the full enjoyment of his rights, native of the city of Montreal, Parish of Nôtre Dame, son of Jean Baptiste Huberdeau and of Charlotte Rouleau,

on one side and Pelagie Gautier, daughter of the late René Gautier, in his lifetime interpreter of the Natchitoches Indians, and of Jeanne Laurent, now wife by second marriage of Toussaint Dhuberdeau, who is stipulating for his stepdaughter.

Mr. Huberdeau assisted by Sieur Estienne, Escuyer, Sieur de la Morandiere, officer of the colonial troops; and by Sr. Joseph Provost called Collet, resident of this Post. D'lle Gautier assisted by said Toussaint Dhuberdeau, her stepfather; by Jeanne Laurent, her mother; by Sr. Paul Moro, her uncle; by Sr. Francois Mahyeux; and by Sr. Claude Rachahal.

Passed in the Notarial Office at the Post of Pointe Coupée, on August 20, 1762, in the afternoon.

(Signed): Simon Huberdeau; Toussaint Huberdeau; Moro; Collete; Francois Mayeux; Norbert Lamorandie; Racahal; Benoist, Notary.

Pelagie Gautier and her mother, Jeanne Laurent, declared that they could neither write nor sign.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

(Translator's Note: No mention of witnesses is made in the act.—G.L.)

August 24.

2 pp.

Transfer of real estate in Pointe Coupée by Jean Francois Besson and wife to Guillaume Decuron called Dauphine.

Before the Royal Notary of Pointe Coupée, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, personally appeared Jean Francois Besson, at present residing at this Post, and Marianne Bourselice, his wife, duly authorized by her said husband, on one side; and Guillaume Ducuron called Dauphiné, son-in-law of the aforesaid ap-

pearers, having married Marianne Deruin, on the other side.

The appearers of the first part, by these presents, abandoned and relinquished to said Decuron called Dauphiné, two arpents and a half frontage of land by the usual depth, without any building thereon, representing one half of what may come to said Marianne Deruin from the succession of the late Alexandre de Ruy, her father; said land adjoining the property of Louis Renaud Duval, on one side, and the property of said Besson and his wife, on the other side. From this day said Guillaume Decuron will enjoy the said tract of land in full ownership, and he acknowledged and acquitted Besson and the latter's wife and whomsoever else it may concern.

Executed at Pointe Coupée, on August 24, 1762, in the afternoon in the presence of Sieurs Louis Renaud Duval and Francois Croiset, who signed together with said Besson and the Notary; while Marianne Bourselice and Guillaume Decuron declared that they could neither write nor sign.

(Signed): Besson; Croizet; Duval; Benoist, Notary.

(Translator's Note: Marianne Deruin was the daughter of Marianne Bourselice and her first husband, Alexandre de Ruy (or Deruin).—G.L.)

Temporary transfer of land by Jean Francois Besson and wife to Guillaume Decuron, since the former are about to depart on a hunting trip.

August 24, 1762.—And On August 24, 1762, before the aforesaid and undersigned Notary, personally appeared Jean Francois Besson and his wife, Marianne Bourselice, duly authorized by her husband to act herein, who both declared

that, being on the point of leaving for a hunting trip in the region of the White River, by these presents, they relinquished and transferred, while they will be absent from this Post, to Guillaume Decuron, their son-in-law, the half part of a landed property, measuring five arpents frontage by the usual depth; one half of said property belonging to the appearers and the other half belonging to said Decuron, who will use and enjoy the whole property during the appearers' absence, on condition that he shall take care of the stock thereon, consisting of six cows, two grown bulls and three young bulls; with the same degree of care as though they were his own; and shall have in full ownership, as his own share, half of the issue of said cattle, during the appearers' absence; and, upon their return to this

Post, said Besson and his wife will regain possession of the above specified two arpents and a half of land and of all of the abovementioned horned cattle, plus half of the issue, as it is explained above.

Executed on said day, month and year, in the presence of Sieurs Louis Renaud Duval and Francois Croiset, competent witnesses.

(Signed): Besson; Duval; Croizet; Benoist, Notary.

Marianne Bourselice stated that she could neither write nor sign.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

September 2.

No. 8263. 2 pp.

Marriage Contract between Charles Robillard and Marie Porciaux. Marriage Contract executed before the Royal Notary of Pointe Coupée, between Charles Robillard, of age and in the full enjoyment of his rights, native of Fort Chartres, settlement of Illinois, son of the late Louis Robillard and of Marie Magdeleine Cordier, on one side; and Marie

Pourciaux, minor daughter of Jean Baptiste Porciaux, inhabitant of this Post, and of Marie Thereze Chalin, both parents being present and stipulating for their minor daughter, on the other side.

Charles Robillard assisted by Sieur Louis Marionnau and by Sr. Francois Marcantell, his friends, for want of relatives. Marie Porciaux assisted by said Jean Baptiste Porciaux, her father; by Sieur Pierre Ducoste, her godfather; and by Louis Renaud Duval, her friend, for want of relatives.

Passed at said Post of Pointe Coupée, on September 2, 1762, in the morning, in the presence of the said parents, relatives and friends, who signed together with the Notary, with the exception of the contracting parties and of Jean Baptiste Porciaux, who stated that they could neither write nor sign.

(Signed): Duval; Marionnau; Marcantel; Benoist, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

September 4. No. 8264. 4 pp.

Marriage Contract between Joseph Barbaud called Boisdoré and Marie Jeanne Deslandes. Marriage Contract passed before the Royal Notary of Mobile, between Joseph Barbaud called Boisdoré, native of Mobile, twenty-one years of age, son of Joseph Barbaud called Boisdoré, master tailor for the King in Mobile, and of Louise Brette, on one side; and Marie Jeanne Deslandes, widow of the late Charles

Rochon, native of Mobile, daughter of the late Francois Deslandes, a resident of Mobile during his lifetime, and of Magdeleine Boyer, on the other side.

Joseph Barbaud assisted by Sieur Joseph Barbaud called Boisdoré, his father; by Antoine Negrier, resident of New Orleans; and by Antoine Isaac Cotton, also resident of New Orleans: both at present in Mobile. Marie Jeanne Deslandes assisted by Claude Boulonnois, inhabitant of Mobile; by Michel Pacquet, inhabitant of New Orleans; and by Margueritte Cotton, wife of Boisdoré.

Executed in Mobile, at the residence of Sieur Joseph Barbaud called Boisdoré, father of the contracting party, on January 3, 1749. Signed by Marie Jeanne Deslandes, Boisdoré Louis, Boisdoré Cotton, Negrier, Boulonnois, Pacquet and Dupuisieux, Notary.

The contracting party, Joseph Barbaud called Boisdoré, declared that he could neither write nor sign.

The document is a copy certified by Roujot, Notary.

Above contract ordered recorded in the Registry at New Orleans. September 4, 1762.—Considering the donation set forth in the marriage contract passed between the said Barbaud called Boisdoré and the said Marie Deslandes; and having heard the conclusions

of the Procureur General, the Council ordered that it be recorded in the Register of Insinuations, so that it may be given its full and complete effect.

Order given in the Council-chamber, on September 4, 1762.

(Signed): Foucault.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

September 14.

No. 8265. 27 pp.

Proces-verbal of the sale of a piece of ground situated on Saint Ursula Street, belonging to the succession of Pierre Saunier called Languedoc. In The Year 1762 and on the 14th of the month of September, at two o'clock in the afternoon, by virtue of the order of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, dated 4th of the present month, directing, upon the conclusions of the Procureur General of the King:

That the relatives and friends of the minor, Victor Saunier, son of the late

Pierre Saunier called Languedoc, and of Louise Dormoy, now living, be convened for the purpose of selecting a tutor and an undertutor; also directing the aforesaid order that all the movable and immovable property of the succession of said Saunier and of the community between the deceased Pierre Saunier and the said Louise Dormoy be disposed of by means of judicial sale to be conducted under the supervision of Monsieur Delaunay, Councillor of the said Council and Commissioner appointed in this case, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, and that the proceeds be deposited in the Registry until settlement of accounts and division between the coheirs; and upon petition of Sieur Claude Cyprien Boby, Sergeant of a company of the detached Marine Troops garrisoned in this colony, in the name and as husband of Louise Saunier, minor daughter of the late Pierre Saunier and of Louise Dormoy;

First auction.

We, Louis Piot Delaunay, Councillor of the Superior Council, Commissioner in this case, accompanied by Mr. Charles Marie

De la Lande D'Apremont, also Councillor of the Superior Council, acting Procureur General of the King, together with the Clerk and the Sheriff of the Council, went to the Court for the purpose of proceeding, for the first time, to the announcement of the sale and of receiving the first bids, in order to arrive at the adjudication, to the highest and last bidder, of a piece of ground, situated on Ursuline Street in this city, belonging to the succession of the late Pierre Saunier and to the community of property between said deceased and Louise Dormoy.

And being there, and having read the proces-verbal of the advertising and placarding, concerning the said sale, made in the customary places of this city by Sheriff Marin Lenormand,

on the 12th of the present month, We caused the Sheriff to announce to the numerous bidders gathered there, that we were going to receive the first bids for the purpose of arriving at the adjudication, to the last and highest bidder, of a lot of ground measuring sixty feet front by a depth of one hundred and twenty feet, with no building thereon, and only enclosed in part with pickets, with all its rights, ways, appurtenances and servitudes, situated in this city, on Ursuline Street, adjoining on one side the property of Sieur Boisdoré and on the other side the property of the said succession; on condition that the purchaser pay the price in cash, together with all Court costs, into the hands of the Clerk.

Whereupon Sieur Jacques Jolly presented his bid of 1500 livres as the price of said piece of ground; then Sr. Pierre Raby offered 1600 livres; Sr. Marin, 1800 livres; Sr. Jolly, 1900 livres; Sr. Marette, 2000 livres.

And no other bid having been offered, We, Councillor Commissioner, with the consent of the Procureur General of the King and of the interested parties, ordered and do order that new advertising and placarding be effected, next Sunday, 19th of the present month, so that new bids may be offered on the following Tuesday, 21st of the present month, at two o'clock P. M., according to the clauses and conditions above explained. And we signed:

(Signed): Boby; Delalande; Delaunay; Broutin, Clerk.

On Tuesday, September 21, 1762, the following bids were presented: by Sr. Raby, 2100 livres; by Sr. Revoil, 2200;

by Sr. Marrette, 2300; by Sr. Louis Boisdoré, 2400; by Sr. Marin, 2500 livres.

(Signed): Boby; Delalande; Delaunay; Broutin, Clerk.

The third and last auction, concerning the piece of ground described above, took place on September 28th, with the fol-

lowing bids: by Sr. Lambert, 3000 livres; by Sr. Dubourg, 4000; by Sr. Mietton, 5000; by Sr. Bauré, 5500; by Sr. Marin Lenormand, 6000; by Sr. Boby, 6500; by Sr. Mietton, 7000; by Sr. Boby, 7300; and no higher bids having been presented, We, Councillor Commissioner aforementioned and undersigned, with

the consent of the Procureur General of the King and of the interested parties, adjudicated and do adjudicate unconditionally and definitively the said piece of ground to Sr. Boby, as the last and highest bidder, for the said sum of 7300 livres, which he promised to pay at once, in consideration whereof he will remain the free and rightful possessor of said property, to be used and enjoyed in full ownership by him and by his heirs.

(Signed): Boby, Delalande; Delaunay; Broutin, Clerk.

Judicial sale of three fourths of a city lot, belonging to the same succession, and community. The same procedure was followed for the judicial sale of another parcel of ground, its size being three fourths of the usual city lot, situated at the corner of Royal and Ursuline streets, belonging to the aforesaid succession and community,

measuring forty-five feet front by a depth of one hundred and twenty feet, with no building thereon, and adjoining the property of said succession on both sides.

First auction.

The first auction took place on September 14, 1762, at 10 o'clock A. M., with the following bids: by Sr. Marin, 1000

livres; by Sr. Pierre Raby, 1200; by Sr. Marette, 1500 livres.

(Signed): Boby; Delalande; Delaunay; Broutin.

Second auction.

The second auction followed on September 21st, when no bids were presented.

(Signed): Boby, Delalande; Delaunay; Broutin, Clerk.

Third auction.

The third auction, concerning the parcel of ground described above, was held on September 28th, with the following

bids: by Sr. Bauré, 4000 livres; by Sr. De Chavoye, 6000; by Sr. Bauré, 6500; by Sr. Mietton, 7000; by Sr. Boby, 8000; by Sr. Bauré, 8500; by Sr. Dechavoye, 9000; by Sr. Boby, 9500; by Sr. Dechavoye, 10,000; by Sr. Boby, 11,000; by Sr. Dechavoye, 11,500; by Sr. Boby, 11,900; by Sr. Dechavoye, 12,000; by Sr. Mietton, 12,050; by Sr. Dechavoye, 12,100; by Sr. Boby, 12,200; by Sr. Dechavoye, 12,300; by Sr. Boby, 12,500; by Sr. Dechavoye, 12,550 livres.

And no higher bids having been offered, We, Councillor Commissioner, with the consent of the Procureur General of the King and of the interested parties, adjudicated and do adjudicate unconditionally and definitively the said parcel of ground to Sr. Dechavoye, as the last and highest bidder, for the sum of 12,550 livres, which he promised to pay immediately, together with all court costs; by means whereof he will remain the free and rightful owner of said property.

(Signed): Chavoy; Boby; Delalande; Delaunay; Broutin.

Judicial sale of a house and lot on Royal Street, belonging to the same succession and community. This property consists of one full lot, plus one fourth of a lot, taken from the property forming the object of the preceding judicial sale, measuring seventy-five feet front by the usual depth of one hundred and twenty feet, on which stands

a frame house, forty-five feet long and twenty feet wide, with a gallery in front and a double brick chimney, and with all windows and doors closing with lock and key; together with all appurtenances and servitudes, and with no reservation or retention whatever from top to bottom; said property being situated on Royal Street, adjoining the property of Mr. Voisin on one side, and that of the said succession on the other side; and the present sale being conducted under the conditions and clauses above explained.

First auction.

A bid of 8000 livres was offered by Sr. Paiche called Francoeur. No other bids were offered.

(Signed): Boby; Delalande; Dalaunay; Broutin, Clerk.

Second auction.

The second auction took place on September 21st, with the following bids: by Sr. Pierre Raby, 8500 livres; by Sr. An-

toine Foucher, 9000; by Sr. Boby, 9500; by Sr. Foucher, 10,000 livres.

(Signed): Boby; Delalande; Dalaunay; Broutin, Clerk.

The third auction followed on September 28th, and the bids were: by Sr. Vienne, 11,000 livres; by Sr. Raby, 12,050; by Sr.

Dechavoye, 15,000; by Sr. Lambert, 16,000; by Sr. Dechavoye, 17,000; by Sr. Vienne, 17,100; by Sr. Dechavoye, 17,500; by

Sr. Vienne, 17,600; by Sr. Dechavoye, 17,800; by Sr. Vienne, 17,900; by Sr. Dechavoye, 18,000; by Sr. Vienne, 18,050; by Sr. Dechavoye, 18,400; by Sr. Vienne, 18,700; by Sr. Dechavoye, 18,800; by Sr. Vienne, 19,000; by Sr. Dechavoye, 20,000; by Sr. Vienne, 20,100; by Sr. Dechavoye, 20,200; by Sr. Boby, 20,500; by Sr. Dechavoye, 21,000; by Sr. Boby, 21,500; and by Sr. Dechavoye, 23,000 livres. And no higher bids having been offered, the Councillor Commissioner, with the consent of the Procureur General of the King and of the interested parties, adjudicated the said property, unconditionally and definitively, to Sr. Dechavoye, as the last and highest bidder, for the abovementioned sum of 23,000 livres, which he promised to pay immediately together with all the court costs; whereupon he will remain the free and rightful owner of the aforesaid property.

(Signed): Chavoy; Boby; Delalande; Broutin, Clerk.

September 14.

No. 8266. 6 pp.

Judicial sale of the holdings of the succession of Pierre Saunier called Languedoc. On September 14, 1762, at nine o'clock in the morning, by virtue of an order of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, dated the fourth of the present month, granting permit for the sale of all the movable and immovable property of the succession of the late Sieur Pierre Saunier

called Languedoc; and upon petition of Sr. Claude Cyprien Boby, Sergeant of a company of the Colonial Troops, We, Louis Piot de Launay, Councillor of the Superior Council, appointed Commissioner in this case, together with Mr. Charles Marie De la Lande, Councillor of said Council, acting Procureur General of the King, and accompanied by the Clerk and the Sheriff of the said Council, went to the residence of widow Saunier for the purpose of conducting the sale and adjudication, to the last and highest bidder, of the movable holdings of the said succession; said sale having been duly advertised last Sunday, 12th of the present month, and also today by the beating of the drum in all the public places of the city; and it having been proclaimed and announced by the Sheriff that said sale was going to be started at once, on condition that the purchasers shall pay in cash, into the hands of the Clerk, for the articles that would be adjudicated to them. And numerous bidders being gathered there. We proceeded to conduct the sale as follows:

First there were put up for sale one pair of andirons, one shovel, and one pair of tongs, that were found in the parlor of said house, and after	
as the last and highest bidder, for the sum of 85 livres:	85 — —
Item: another pair of andirons, one shovel, and one pair of tongs, adjudicated to Sr. Boutet	~~
Item: six paintings with gilt frames, adjudicated to Sr. Boby, for 305 livres:	
Item: one large gilt-framed mirror, adjudicated to Sr. Boby, for 675 livres:	
Item: another mirror adjudicated to Sr. Dorgella, for 240 livres:	
Item: one small dressing-table mirror adjudicated to Sr. Barrangue for 40 livres:	
Item: another medium-sized gilt-framed mirror with its frame, adjudicated to Sr. Couronne for 125 livres:	105
Item: eight silver dinner sets and one silver soup-ladle weighing together five marcs and six	125 — —
ounces, adjudicated to Sr. Goyau, for 1700 livres:1' Item: six damask napkins, adjudicated to Sr.	
Olivier for 180 livres:	
Item: six other napkins, four of which in damask and two plain ones, adjudicated to Sr.	
Detous, soldier, for 135 livres:	135 — —
ask and five plain ones, adjudicated to Sr. Couronne, for 130 livres:	130 — —
Item: six other napkins adjudicated to Sr. Detous, soldier, for 125 livres: Item: two tablecloths, a plain one and the	125 — —
other in damask, adjudicated to Sr. Couronne, for 60 livres:	60 — —

And it being past eleven o'clock, We stopped the present sale, which shall be resumed at two P. M. of this day.

(Signed): Boby; Delalande; De Launay; Broutin, Clerk.

And on said day, month and year, at two o'clock P. M. the aforesaid judicial sale was resumed as follows:

First there were put up for sale one cypress bedstead, two mattresses, one bolster, one bedspread, one calico tester, four window curtains in bad condition with iron rods, adjudicated to Sr. Roquefort, officer, for 700 livres: 700 -

Item: two curtains with one iron rod, and one small claw-footed walnut table, adjudicated to Sr.

Item: two laundry tubs, and one pirogue, adjudicated to Sr. Prevost for 72 livres:

Item: eleven plain wood chairs and two walnut armchairs, adjudicated to Sr. Forstall for 225 livres: 225 -

Item: three cypress tables with three worn-out covers, and one kitchen safe, adjudicated to Sr. Paiche called Francoeur for 60 livres:

60 .

Item: two chimney plaques, and two large trunks, adjudicated to Sr. Paiche called Francoeur

Item: one claw-footed walnut crib, twenty fowls, and nine glass panes, adjudicated to Sr.

This having been accomplished, and since there was nothing else for sale belonging to the said succession, We closed the said sale, the proceeds_ whereof amounted to the total of 8027 livres:......8027 errors excepted, which sum was entrusted to the keeping of the Clerk, who will take care of it, and shall give an account of the same to whom it may concern.

Ordered and executed on the day, month and year stated above.

(Signed): Boby; Delaunay; Lenormand; Delalande, Broutin, Clerk.

September 26.

Building Contract under private signature between André Plainbler and Simon Taigler, for construction of a house. Contract and Agreement passed between Sieur Plaimbler and Sieur Simon Taigler, the document having been drafted in German and having been translated into French, viz: 1762:

I, André Plaimbre, promise Simon Taigler to build for him a house of the same

size as the one in which he lives; Plainbler obligates himself to build said house three feet above the ground and to cut the timber on the place that Sr. Simon Tregle will point out to him, to dress all the lumber, and to deliver to Sr. Taigler said house ready for mud-walling; and Plainbler obligates himself to build a gallery in the front and in the rear of said house, with a closet at each end; and Sr. Taigler promises to pay said Plinbler the sum of 2000 livres, in current money, and if this should diminish in value, the two thousand livres shall also undergo a like diminution; and Sr. Simon Taigler obligates himself to give Sr. Plainbler two cows with a calf six or seven months old; and Plainbler obligates himself to build also a mill without any covering, and Sr. Simon obligates himself to feed Sr. Plainbler and his workmen during the time that they will be engaged in said work.

Drafted on the German Coast, on September 26, 1762.

(Signed): André Plinbler; Simon Taigler.

The original draft in German is annexed to the above translation.

(Translator's Note: Variations in the spelling of names is remarkable in this document, which is an interesting sample of a contract under private signature.—G.L.)

(To be continued.)

INDEX TO THE SPANISH JUDICIAL RECORDS OF LOUISIANA LXVIII.

June, 1784.

(Continued from October, 1940, Quarterly)

By LAURA L. PORTEOUS (With Marginal Notes by Walter Prichard)

Spanish officials appearing in this installment:

Esteban Miro, Colonel of the Fixed Regiment of Infantry of this Place, and Governor ad interim of the Province of Louisiana.

Martin Navarro, Intendant General of the Province of Louisiana.

Juan Doroteo del Postigo y Balderrama, Auditor of War and Assessor General of Louisiana.

Francisco Maria de Reggio, Regidor Perpetuo, Alferez Real and Alcalde Ordinario of this City and Its Jurisdiction for His Majesty.

Luis Toutant Beauregard, Regidor Perpetuo and Alcalde Mayor Provincial of this Province and Its Jurisdiction for His

Nicolas Forstall, Alcalde Ordinario (1785).

Escribanos: Fernando Rodriguez; Rafael Perdomo.

Nicolas Fromentin, Deputy Sheriff.

Juan Josef Duforest, Official Interpreter and Translator.

Luis Lioteaud, Judicial Accountant and Official Taxer for Costs of Court.

Notaries Public: Fernando Rodriguez; Leonardo Mazange (1783). Attorneys: Francisco Broutin; Pedro Bertonière; Antonio Mendez.

Public Appraisers: Joseph Adrian de la Place; Andres Wackernie. Alexandre de Clouet, Chevalier, Lieutenant-Colonel and Civil and Military Commander of the Posts of Attakapas and Opelousas.

June 9, 1784.

bourg succession.

This record bears a double pagination, namely: from 1 to 8 and 87 to 94, and it once formed a part Proceedings brought by Val- of another proceeding. (See other entino Saulet and his sisters- Lacour Dubourg suits, July 29, in-law, creditors of the Du- September 2, November 27, 1783,

No. 3293. 8 pp. Court of Alferez Real Francisco Maria de Reggio.

No Assessor.

Escribano, Fernando Rodriguez.

To foreclose a mortgage.

This case illustrates the legal procedure involved in collecting a privileged claim against a succession.

The first document filed in this cause is a certified copy of an act of sale with mortgage (vendor's lien) and reads in part: That Francisca Aufrere, Widow Perie (Pery), sells a plantation to Pablo Lacour Dubourg, belonging to her, situated about a half league above the city, on the other side of the river, measuring 4 arpents front by 40 deep, adjoined on one side by Widow Lionais' lands and on the other by those owned by a Convent of Nuns (Ursuline Convent) in this city. It belongs to her because she bought it from Joseph Becat, by Notarial Act ex-

ecuted before Juan B. Garic, February 1, 1775. The said real property is free of all mortgages and liens, as the present Notary certifies after examining the books in his Office, and is sold for 1500 pesos which the purchaser agrees to pay within one year, beginning to run and be counted from today, the date of sale. Pablo Lacour Dubourg, here present, accepts, and for the security of payment obligates his present and future estate, and in a particular manner the said plantation which he promises to neither sell, nor alienate until full payment is made. The above act of sale is passed in New Orleans, April 12, 1782, before Leonardo Mazange, Notary Public, in the presence of Francisco Langlois, Phelipe Guinault and Luis Lioteau. (Signed in the original by) Francisca Aufrere, Widow Pery, and Lacou(r) Dubourg.

With this exhibit as a basis for their claim, Alexo Pery, Thomas Saulet, as husband of Maria Theresa Pery, Valentino Saulet, husband of Maria Francisca Pery, Maria Celesta Pery, Widow of Pablo Lacour Dubourg, and Helena Pery, in a joint petition, set forth that the Pablo Lacour Dubourg Succession owes them 1744 pesos, namely: 1500 as appears from the document duly presented, together with an additional 244 pesos that Mr. Dubourg has declared he owes them in his will. Considering this debt is privileged, they pray that the guardian of the estate be ordered to pay them the forenamed sum from the funds of the Dubourg succession. (Signed) Marie Francoise Pery (Mrs. Saulet), Celeste Pery, widow of Pablo Lacour Dubourg, Marie Therese Pery (Mrs. Saulet), and Helene Pery. Alferez de Reggio rules: Let the above petition be sent to the curator ad lites of the minors.

Francisco Broutin, Curator ad lites of the Pablo Lacour Dubourg minors, answers, stating that he has received the petition of the legitimate heirs of Gerardo Pery and Maria Francisca Aufrere relative to a debt of 1744 pesos, 1500 for the purchase of a

plantation, which was in turn sold to Bautista Cernat for 1200 pesos, the remainder for money lent to the late Mr. Dubourg, as he has declared in his will; and as the debt is privileged, it should be paid from the produce of the estate which was sold for cash, before the claims of the other creditors. When the heirs have been paid the said 1744 pesos they must give a receipt, drawn up in due form, to show that payment has been made. Alferez de Reggio receives this petition and on July 27, 1784, decrees:

Whereas: Let the heirs of the late Mrs. Pery be paid from the funds of the Dubourg estate the 1744 pesos realized from the sale of the latter's property, which the said succession owes them, for which amount they must give a receipt in due form.

The Receipt: In the city of New Orleans, the twenty-seventh of July of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, before the undersigned Escribano and witnesses, appeared: Alexo Pery, Helena Pery, Celesta Pery, Widow Dubourg, Valentino Saulet, husband of Maria Theresa Pery, and Thomas Saulet, husband of Francisca Pery, all known to the said Escribano, and they acknowledge to have received from Pedro Bertonière, in charge of the funds of the Pablo Lacour Dubourg succession, the sum of 1744 pesos which the latter owed the late Francisca Aufrere, Widow Pery, their mother, as appears from the proceedings brought to this effect. This sum they declare they have received, and because delivery is not made now, they renounce the exception of non numerata pecunia and grant a formal receipt in favor of Pedro Bertonière. Those who know how to write sign, the witnesses here present being Josef Becat, Manuel Galvez and Phelipe Guinault, residents of this city.

The record ends here.

June 11.

Executory Process. Josef Diaz vs. Fernando Rodriguez.

No. 34. 10 pp. Court of Alcalde Francisco Maria de Reggio.

No Assessor.

To collect a debt.

The first entry is Fernando Rodriguez' note promising to pay Joseph Diaz 569 pesos at his op-New Orleans, March 20, 1784. Written across the back at a later date is Diaz' receipt, reading: Received as payment on account the sum of 565 (569?) pesos mentioned on the reverse side of this paper. New Orleans (space left for the day), September, 1784. (Signed) Josef Diaz.

The plaintiff sets forth that Fernando Rodriguez, Clerk of the Escribano, Rafael Perdomo. Government, owes him 569 pesos as the note, duly presented, shows. and in order to establish his right to take action he prays the Court

This case, which was apparently finally settled out of court, illustrates the legal procedure in collecting a debt by executor process. The note having been presented, let the maker of it acknowledge, swear and declare, as requested, the taking of his deposition to be entrusted to the present Escribano, and done deliver it to

the Court.

In the city of New Orleans, June 12, 1784, the Escribano, pursuant to the foregoing decree, went to Fernando Rodriguez' home to receive the declaration he has been ordered to make, and upon reaching there he administered the oath, which was taken by God and the Cross, according to law, under charge of which he promised to speak the truth, and having shown him the note filed on page 1, he said the signature is his and that it is true he owes the amount demanded.

Joseph Diaz then petitions, averring that the records of the case, together with the defendant's deposition, have been delivered to him, and considering he has verified his signature and acknowledged the debt, 46 pesos of which he has already paid, therefore he prays the Court for a Writ of Execution issued against all and any of Mr. Rodriguez' property to the full amount of the debt due, namely 523 pesos, its one-tenth and costs. Alcalde de Reggio receives this petition and on July 3, 1784, decrees: Whereas, let Fernando Rodriguez be notified that he must pay Josef Diaz the sum of 523 pesos, within three days, with a warning that execution will follow.

On July 12, 1784, Josef Diaz presents another petition to state that it has pleased the Court to decree to his foregoing request, thereby condemning the defendant to pay the 523 pesos still remaining due. He was notified of this decision, by the Escribano, on the 3rd of the current month, but up to today he has not paid the debt, therefore he prays for the writ of execution, already requested. Alferez de Reggio receives this petition and on July 13th decrees: Whereas, issue the Writ of Execution in favor of Josef Diaz against all and any of Fernando Rodriguez' property for the sum of 523 pesos, its one-tenth and costs.

A marginal note stipulates that the writ that was ordered has been issued and delivered to the party, to which the Escribano attests.

The Writ: Let the Sheriff, or in his place the Deputy Sheriff, request Fernando Rodriguez to pay Josef Diaz immediately the sum of 523 pesos, and if he does not pay the said sum, its one-tenth and costs, at once, take execution against all or any of the property of the abovesaid, making a formal seizure, the articles attached to be deposited with the General Receiver, according to the judgment rendered this day. Thus it is ordered. New Orleans, July 13, 1784.

(Signed) Francisco Maria de Reggio. By Order of His Honor. (Signed) Rafael Perdomo, Notary Public, Clerk of the Court.

The Deputy Sheriff's report reads: In the city of New Orleans, (space left for the day) of July, 1784, before the Escribano and witnesses, appeared: Nicolas Fromentin, Deputy Sheriff, who said that with the Writ on the reverse side of this page, he requested Fernando Rodriguez to pay Josef Diaz the sum demanded, and the former not showing any property that could be seized he attached his house and garden, situated at the Burgundy Gate (Fort Burgundy, corner of Canal and Rampart streets), leaving the Writ open to make a more suitable seizure at some other time. He asked to have this set down as his answer. He signed, and the witnesses, here present, were Manuel Monrroy and Francisco Carcasses. (Signed), Nicolas Fromentin, before Rafael Perdomo, Notary Public, Clerk of the Court.

On July 27, 1784, Josef Diaz presents still another petition, saying the defendant has been served with a Writ of Execution which was carried into effect by the seizure of his house and garden, therefore may it please the Court to order same called for sale as the law requires, so that with citation of the other party an estimate may be made of the real property attached, by the public appraisers of this city, who must first be notified for their acceptations and oaths, and done assign a day for the auction. Alcalde de Reggio decrees: Let the farm be cried for sale, as the law requires, with citation of the other party, but first an estimation must be made by Josef Adrian de la Place and Andres Wackernie, Public Appraisers, who must be notified for their acceptations and oaths, and done return the records to the Court.

[Translator's Note: Nothing further is done, but as Josef Diaz signs a receipt, in full, on the back of the note, dated September, 1784 (day not given), it is to be supposed the case was settled out of Court.—L. L. P.]

June 11.

Proceedings instituted by Mauricio Rondineau against Pedro Portal.

No. 3285. 5 pp.

Court of Alferez Real Francisco Maria de Reggio.

No Assessor.

Escribano, Fernando Rodriguez.

The first entry is a bill which reads: The Junior Mr. Portal owes Mr. Rondineau for several articles bought from the Cargo of the schooner, Maria Theresa, which are as follows:

1783, July 5. 1
quarter of coffee,
175 pounds net at
16 pesos......... 27 P. 7½ R.
2 barrels of rum
at 22 P......... 44

71 P. 7½ R.

To collect a debt.

no point of particular interest.

Mauricio Rondineau presents this bill and states that it is evident This unfinished suit to collect a debt from this account that Pedro Portal owes him 71 pesos 7½ reales for 2 barrels of rum and 1 barrel

of coffee sold to him. He prays to have the latter ordered under oath and without delay to declare whether or not it is true that he owes the amount specified, and done deliver his deposition to the plaintiff. Francisco Maria de Reggio rules: The account having been presented, let the party named swear and declare to its contents as requested, the taking of his deposition to be entrusted to the Escribano, and done let the records be returned to the Court.

In the city of New Orleans, on the said day, month and year (June 11, 1784), the Escribano, in virtue of the commission conferred upon him, received Pedro Portal's oath, that he made by God and the Cross, according to law, under charge of which he promised to speak the truth, and upon being shown the bill placed at the beginning of these proceedings, he said it is true that he owes the amount stipulated therein.

The plaintiff again petitions, this time stating that the defendant has made his declaration acknowledging he owes the amount claimed. Therefore he prays for a Writ of Execution against his person and estate, as this sum is due him and has never been paid. Alcalde de Reggio receives this petition and on June 14, 1784, decrees: Let a Writ of execution be issued in favor of Mauricio Rondineau against Pedro Portal for the sum of 71 pesos 7½ reales, its one-tenth and costs, as it is evident he owes this amount.

A marginal note stipulates that the Writ has been issued as requested and delivered to the party, to which Rafael Perdomo attests. The record ends here and is therefore unfinished.

June 13.

Proceedings brought by Lorenzo Wiltz to obtain a permit to sell a brigantine, the "Indio", belonging to him.

No. 62. 11 pp.

Court of Alcalde Francisco Maria de Reggio.

No Assessor.

Escribano, Rafael Perdomo, lic Office.

Lorenzo Wiltz petitions to say that it is convenient to him to sell, at public auction, a brigantine, the "Indio", belonging to him, therefore he prays the Court to grant him the necessary permit and also to confer the commission required by law upon the Escribano to hold the sale, and done deliver the records to him to promote what is suitable. Alferez Real de Reggio rules: As it is prayed.

The 1st, 2nd and 3rd public calls are given June 13, 16 and 19 by the Escribano at the doors of his PubThis case illustrated the legal procedure involved in obtaining permission to sell a ship at public auction in Spanish colonial New Orleans, and also the manner of conducting said auction.

Then on June 22, Lorenzo Wiltz petitions the Court to assign a day for holding the auction. Alcalde de Reggio decrees: Considering that the public calls have been given, as

the law requires, he assigns the following day, the 23rd of the current month, for holding the auction. Let this public sale be conducted by the Escribano.

The Sale: In the city of New Orleans on the twenty-third of June of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, the undersigned Escribano, in virtue of the commission conferred upon him by the foregoing decree, standing at the doors of the Public Office in his charge, Lorenzo Wiltz being present, the Public Crier called in a loud, clear voice the sale of the "Indio", the property of the said Mr. Wiltz, saying who will bid on this brigantine, of 80 tons, that is anchored on the banks of this river, let him appear and his offer will be received as the sale must be made by 12 o'clock of this day, to the highest bidder, who must pay cash for same. At this stage, Luis Toutan (t) Beauregard bid 3000 pesos and Manuel Monsanto 3500. The crier continued to call and Agustin de Trevilla offered 4000, Juan Lino Gortari 5000, Geronimo Lachapella 5100, Thomas Poree 5101, and as no other bids were made, the brigantine was adjudicated to him, because the bell had already rung for the 12 o'clock prayer (Angelus). This act was signed by Thomas Poree and Lorenzo Wiltz, before Rafael Perdomo.

Lorenzo Wiltz petitions to say that considering this sale has been concluded under legal formalities, may it please the Court to approve it in all its parts, interposing for its greater validation and force his authority and judicial decree. Alcalde de Reggio receives this petition and on June 26, 1784, decrees: Considering what Lorenzo Wiltz has set forth in his last petition, His Honor says that since the sale has been held under the customary formalities and in the presence of the said Lorenzo Wiltz, in the best form that may have place in law, he approves and does approve and to this effect he interposes his authority and judicial decree for its greater force and validation.

In a second petition Lorenzo Wiltz prays for a taxation of costs to be made by the present Escribano, and that he be supplied with a certified copy of these proceedings authorized in public form in a manner that may have credit, and he will promptly pay all just and due fees. Alcalde de Reggio rules: As it is prayed.

On June 23, 1784, Rafael Perdomo taxes costs at 11 pesos 4 reales.

On August 4, 1784, in an added petition Luis Toutant Beauregard, Regidor Perpetuo, Alcalde Mayor Provincial for this Province and its jurisdiction for His Majesty, sets forth that for ends convenient to him may it please His Honor to consider the public

act of sale, executed before the present Escribano, by which Thomas Poree transferred to the petitioner, the brigantine "Indio", adjudicated to him at auction, June 23rd of the current year, in the suit instituted in this Tribunal, and to order the Escribano to supply the petitioner with a certified copy of the auction, together with this petition and the decree rendered thereunto, authorized in public form in a manner that may have credit, and he will promptly pay all just and due fees. He further prays to have this petition filed with the said proceedings. Alcalde de Reggio rules: Let this party be given the certified copy he asks, upon the payment of all just and due fees. File this representation with the proceedings.

The record ends here.

June 25.

Buker vs. Mather.

No. 3166. 9 pp.

Miro.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

Escribano, Fernando Rodriguez.

To collect an inheritance.

This proceeding to collect an inheritance in Spanish Louisiana by a citizen of Pennsylvania illustrates the obstacles that had to be surmounted in such international transactions at that date.

relative to an estate, late the property of Ralph Booker, of the same place, as the grantor in like manner would do. In witness whereof he signed, set his hand and seal, this twenty-eighth day of October in the year of the Christian Era, that is the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. Sealed and delivered in the presence of George Adams and Charles Steen. (Signed) Bird Booker. (Seal)

Westmoreland County, Pa. (Paper seal affixed.)

Personally appeared before Michael Hussnaugh, Esquire, Pro-thonotary of the County of West-

moreland, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and also one of the Justices of the Peace of the foresaid County and Commonwealth, George Adams and Charles Steen, subscribing witnesses to the within Power of Attorney, who being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God to depose and say that they

The record opens with a certified copy of Bird Booker's Power of Attorney, in English, appointing James Elliot his agent. It reads, in part: That the grantor is a resident of Cumberland County, Virginia, but is at present in West-Court of Governor Esteban moreland County, Pennsylvania, and he hereby constitutes and appoints James Elliot of Philadelphia to be his lawful attorney, to manage, direct and to take care of and also to sue for and to receive an estate, late the property of Thomas Booker of Louisiana, in the settlement of Appalousas (Opelousas), but now deceased, and to do all things relative to the said estate in law and equity as the grantor would do were he personally present and also to do and transact all things

were personally present and did see Bird Booker, within mentioned, sign, seal and deliver the within Power of Attorney to James Elliot, as and for Act and Deed, and that they signed the same as subscribing witnesses. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal and affixed the seal of the said County, the twenty-first day of November of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. (Signed) Mich Hussnagh.

The second entry is a petition written in French, made to Chevalier de Clouet, Colonel and Civil and Military Commander of the Posts of Atakapas and Opelousas, by James Elliot of the County of Philadelphia, asking to present the Procuration, here attached, granted to him by Bird Booker of Westmoreland County, who has constituted the petitioner his agent to come to an agreement and to recover the property that belonged to the late Thomas Booker, who died in Opelousas, and also the late Raphael Booker's estate, which by inheritance should go to Bird Booker, as stipulated in their wills. May it please the Commander to inform him to whom he must address himself to find the said property, which does not seem to be in this Post. Dated Opelousas, June 25, 1784. (Signed) James Elliot.

Chevalier de Clouet answers, saying: That in virtue of Mr. James Elliot's demand, he certifies that by decree of the Governor General, he sent all the property and papers of the succession of Thomas Booker, consisting of slaves and tobacco (to New Orleans). Therefore Mr. James Elliot must apply to the Higher Court, where he will be informed of the name of the person who has received on deposit all the Booker possessions sent to the Capital. Nothing remains here except some poor land encumbered with debts owed by Messrs. Antoine and the late Ralph Booker, brothers of Mr. Thomas Booker, to several persons of this Post. Antoine and Ralph were heirs to Thomas Booker, according to his will which was also sent to the Capital. Opelousas, June 26, 1784. (Signed) Chevalier de Clouet.

The next entry is a translation made by Juan Josef Duforest, Interpreter, of the English Power of Attorney already presented.

Santiago Elliot now petitions Governor Miro, stating that in virtue of the Power of Attorney, here attached, Bird Booker constituted him his agent to manage and collect the property and funds belonging to the Late Thomas Booker, resident of Opelousas, and also of the deceased Rafael Booker of the same Post, left to the forenamed Bird Booker, their brother, as may be proven from their wills. The said property has been sent to this city by Lieutenant Colonel Alexandre de Clouet, Commander of the Post of Opelousas, as appears from his decree, at the end of a petition addressed to him, also included. The petitioner has been informed that the entire Booker estates are in the keeping of Santiago Mather. Therefore he prays the Court to consider this request

and his legitimate right and to order Santiago Mather, without delay, to give an account and to deliver the effects and funds belonging to the said succession to him. (Signed) James Elliot. New Orleans, July 29, 1784. Governor Miro, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: Let this petition be sent to Santiago Mather.

In a second petition James Elliot sets forth that it is evident from the Procuration filed with this cause that he represents Bird Booker in this Colony, and in accordance with same he is the holder of all property here belonging to the latter, and although the Power of Attorney is general, issued to wind up affairs, to come to agreements and to act for the party as he would himself if he were present, it lacks the clause giving him permission to sell, but the right to do so, however, is clearly understood from the wording of the said Procuration. Therefore he prays to be authorized to sell the property placed in his keeping, because it is necessary to dispose of it so as to render an account of its produce to his constituent. He further prays the Governor to order the Clerk of the Court in charge of this suit to draw up the Act of Sale that it may be convenient for him to make of the property of the Booker succession. Governor Miro, on Assessor Postigo's advice, decrees: It is evident from the Procuration granted by Bird Booker to Santiago Elliot that the latter was to act in the matter of the Thomas Booker succession as the grantor would himself if he were present, and since the agent will not be able to liquidate accounts of the estate, nor remit funds to his constituent unless he is authorized to sell the effects belonging to same, and whereas said Power of Attorney does not expressly give permission to do so, the party evidently intended that the clause "as I myself, were I personally present, would do," includes the right to sell, which he forgot to mention, His Lordship says he authorizes and does authorize the sale, considering there is no other way to settle the succession and to render an account and make returns to Mr. Bird Booker.

The record ends here.

June 30.

of his estate.

No. 138. 136 pp.

las Forstall.

The Llorens Succession is opened with the formal announcement of the death of Santiago Tarascon, and reads: In the city of New Estate Succession of Santi- Orleans, on the thirtieth of June ago Llorens called Tarascon. of the year one thousand seven Inventory and appraisement hundred and eighty-four, Francisco Maria de Reggio, Life Alderman, Royal Standard Bearer and Judge of the Lower Court of this city and its jurisdiction for His Court of Alcaldes Francisco Majesty, said: That now, which Maria de Reggio and Nico- must be about six o'clock in the morning, he has been notified of

This case affords an excellent illustration of the legal procedure involved in settlement of a succession, where there existed a marriage contract and also a will to complicate matters. The student will to complicate matters. The student of social and economic history of Spanish colonial Louisiana will find herein some interesting and valuable source material on such matters as the form and content of a marriage contract and a will, the emancipation of slaves by the owner's will, the prices of plantations and city property, household and personal effects, livestock and slaves, as well as funeral and mourning expenses, costs of court, attorney's fees, and other items. costs of co

the death of Santiago Llorens Assessor, Juan del Postigo, called Tarascon, who leaves minor children, and for the security of Escribano, Rafael Perdomo. any property he may have left at his death he orders the act drawn up to begin this process, for which he commissions the present Escribano giving him sufficient authority as required by law to make a formal collection of the keys left, to certify to the death of the deceased and to see whether he left a will or any other disposition. For thus His Honor has decreed, ordered and signed, to which Rafael Perdomo attests. (Signed) Francisco Maria de Reggio. Before Rafael Perdomo.

Collecting the Keys.

Immediately after, the Escribano, in virtue of the commission

conferred upon him by the foregoing decree, went to the dwelling house of Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, where one key belonging to the decedent's wardrobe was delivered to him by Maria Luisa Baudin, which he holds in his possession, at the disposal of this Tribunal, and in testimony whereof he sets this down as a matter of record.

The fulfillment of the foregoing Certificate of death. decree, the Escribano certifies and attests, as best he can and must, that having gone to Santiago Llorens' house, he saw him laid out in one of the rooms with four lighted candles (around the body); apparently he died from natural causes, and for this reason preparations were made for his burial, and in testimony whereof he sets this down as a matter of record. New Orleans, June 30, 1784. (Signed) Rafael Perdomo.

New Orleans July 1, 1784. Let Search for the Will. the present Escribano, before whom Santiago Llorens called Tarascon executed his last disposition, place a copy of same at the end of this proceeding, and Fernando Rodriguez, Notary Public, must testify whether before him or in the Archives in his keeping, the deceased has drawn up another later will, and done return the records to the Court.

The will reads, in part, that the The Will. testator is the son of Santiago Llorens, a native of the Parish of Saint Didie (r) in Avignon, and of Maria Aubril, a native of the Kingdom of Burgundy in the Kingdom of France.

1st. He commends his soul to God, and after making a declaration of Faith, etc., he asks to be buried simply in a place selected by his testamentary executors.

2nd. It is his will that three Masses be said for the repose of his soul and that an alms of two reales be given once to each one of the forced bequests of this city, to be set aside from his estate and also ten pesos to the Charity Hospital.

3rd. He declares that twenty-four years before he married Maria Luisa Baudin, and three children have been born of this marriage, Francisca, at present married to Juan Luis Hallar (Allard), Pelagia aged 19, and Santiago Bautista aged about 7 (17?).

4th. He declares that when he married Maria Luisa Baudin a marriage contract was drawn up before Juan B. Garic, Notary Public, wherein it is stipulated what each one brought to the marriage.

5th. He declares he owes nothing, but should any bill be presented that he may have forgotten, he wishes to have it paid.

6th. He declares his estate consists of two houses in the city, three plantations and some active debts which are entered in his books of accounts and on loose memoranda. An inventory and appraisement must be made of all of these, in conformity to law, just as soon as his death has taken place, so that the person he selects for his testamentary executor and guardian of his estate can take charge of collections and comply with what is stipulated in the foregoing clauses and those that will be hereinafter set down.

7th. He declares he has received on account and as the only possession of the said Maria Luisa Baudin, his wife, the following entries: Firstly, the 400 pesos mentioned in the marriage contract executed before Juan B. Garic, late Notary Public, proceeding from her paternal and maternal inheritances, which were then provisionally considered, with reservation until such time as the division and adjudication of these estates would be made.

8th. Besides the abovesaid, there should also go to her 300 pesos, the value of 30 head of livestock, and 8 pieces of table silver, worth 56 pesos. No receipt was given for these said amounts, therefore he wishes them made a part of her dowry and paid from the best of his estate, after deducting what was acquired during their married life.

9th. He declares that Juan Bautista Tunoir owes him 1520 pesos as a result of an extrajudicial Company they formed in the month of May of 1774, without drawing up a public written document or any other private one legalizing the said partnership. He is now prosecuting a suit against the said Mr. Tunoir through

Leonardo Mazange, Notary Public. He orders his testamentary executors and heirs, in consequence of the documents found in his book of accounts and loose memoranda, to continue the cause, by all means, until finished. This entry becomes a part of his estate.

10th. He orders his testamentary executrix and guardian of his estate to demand and collect the sum of 2000 pesos that Balthasar de Villiers owes, as may be proven from the orders of payment drawn against the testator for the Military Post at Pointe Coupée and other persons.

11th. He orders that the 3336 pesos due him by different persons, residents of this city, proceeding from the auction sale of nine negroes, before Leonardo Mazange, Notary Public charged with the collection and responsibility for the transaction in virtue of the 5% he has offered him as payment just as soon as the sale is completed, which must be done by the last of the present month. It is his will that this amount be collected and made a part of his estate.

12th. He declares that the said Juan Bautista Tunoir delivered to him some four or five years ago, more or less, the sum of 510 pesos, without any receipt, for the purchase of a negro which should belong and rightfully does belong to him, and he delivered to Mr. Degir, Mr. Tunoir's brother-in-law, the sum of 330 pesos, the full value of the slave, and the remainder of 180 pesos completes the 510 pesos which were delivered in hard money without any security, and with this entry the transaction is settled. In testimony whereof he declares it closed.

13th. When his death takes place he orders the sum of 800 pesos delivered to Juan Bautista (Louis) Allard, to be distributed at the rate of 200 in equal parts among his four children, the testator's grandchildren. This is a special bequest he has made to them to be taken from the one third of his estate.

14th. He further orders that at his death his testamentary executrix and guardian of his estate draw up an act of emancipation, to free Margarita, a negress slave, aged 58, and her daughter, Maria Adelaida, a mulattress, aged 23, also his slave, as a reward which they have merited for faithful services, with the understanding that the said emancipations (value of the slaves) must be deducted from the remainder of the one-fifth (of his disposable estate), as it is not his intention to prejudice his legitimate heirs.

15th. He now, for when the time will arrive, names as tutrix and curatrix ad bono to his minor children, Maria Luisa Baudin, their mother, because of the great confidence he places in her, and he hereby relieves her of the obligation to give bond.

16th. In order to comply with this his last will, he appoints as his testamentary executrix and guardian of his estate the forenamed Maria Luisa Baudin, his wife, so that she may carry into

effect this his disposition, and although the year for serving the executorship may have passed, he extends the term for as long as may be necessary.

17th. And for all the rest of his property, debts, rights and actions that by any other title may concern or belong to him, he institutes and names for his sole and universal heirs his three children already named: Franscisca, wife of Luis Allar(d), Pelagia, unmarried, and Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, his legitimate children, so that they may have and inherit with God's benediction and his.

18th. He revokes and annuls all other wills, codicils, powers of attorney and other dispositions to will that he may have previously made in writing or by word of mouth, so that they be of no value, nor have credit in Court, nor outside of it, save this one which must be safeguarded, fulfilled and executed, as his last and final will, in the way and manner that has place in law.

This will was made in New Orleans, October 11, 1782, before Rafael Perdomo, in the presence of Carlos Poree, Martin Braquier, Francisco Broutin, Pedro Aragon y Villegas and Manuel Monrroy, witnesses. Signed in the Original by Santiago Llorens, the abovenamed witnesses and the Notary.

A note stipulates that the testator died between 11 and 12 o'clock on the night of the day of date, New Orleans, June 29, 1784. To which Rafael Perdomo attests.

This document conforms to the original executed before Rafael Perdomo and that remains in his Archives, to which he refers, and in fulfillment of the foregoing decree he sets the present down on twenty sheets of common paper, stamped paper not being in use here. New Orleans, the first of July of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four. Testado and escribano erased.

In testimony of the Truth. Cross and Flourish.

Rights to taxation like the original. (Signed) Rafael Perdomo, Notary Public.

In the city of New Orleans, on July 1, 1784, the Escribano personally notified Fernando Rodriguez, Notary Public, of the foregoing decree, and he said that as best he can and must he certifies that neither before him nor in the Archives in his charge has any disposition or will been drawn up or filed for Santiago Llorens called Tarascon. To which the Escribano attests.

Alcalde de Reggio's decree. Considering that Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, by clause 5 of his will under the disposition of which he died, named as tutrix and curatrix ad bono to his minor children, his wife, Maria Luisa Baudin, let the records of the case be delivered to her so that pursuant to the duties of her charge she may promote what is con-

venient to her representation. Also deliver to her the keys that have been provisionally in the keeping of the present Escribano. A receipt must be left for same at the end of this proceeding, to credit the delivery.

In the city of New Orleans, on the second of July of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, the Escribano, in virtue of the foregoing decree, went to the dwelling house of Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, and arriving there he delivered the key, that had been in his keeping, provisionally to Maria Luisa Baudin, his widow, who acknowledged to have received it, and in consequence whereof she granted a formal receipt which she signed, to all of which the Escribano attests. (Signed) Marilouise Baudein, before Rafael Perdomo, Notary Public and Clerk of the Court.

Maria Luisa Baudin, widow of Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, testamentary executrix and guardian of the estate left at his death, in the proceedings to settle his succession, etc., states that the records of the case have been delivered to her so that upon examining them she may promote

what is convenient to her right. Therefore she prays for an order to proceed with the taking of the inventory and for the Court to assign the day and hour for making same. Alcalde de Reggio

decrees:

Considering this party's petition, let the inventory of the property left at the death of Santiago Llorens called Tarascon be taken; said property will be appraised by Josef Adrian de la Place and Andres Guakarny (Wackernie), Public Appraisers. They must be notified, in the customary way, for their acceptations and oaths. And as someone must represent the minors, he names Francisco Broutin, Public Attorney, for this purpose, who must first give bond and comply with all other formalities of law, and done he will be placed in charge of the curatorship; then let the records of the case be delivered to him so that he may set forth what is favorable to his representation.

Notification, acceptation and oath. On the said day, month and year (July 3, 1784), the Escribano notified Josef Adrian de la Place in person of the foregoing decree, and in virtue of which he said he accepted and did accept the appointment that has been made and that he swore by God and the Holy Cross, according to law, to fulfill the duties of his charge well and faithfully, without injury to the party, and he signed, to which Rafael Perdomo attests. (De la Place's signature is missing.)

In a like proceeding Andres Wackernie is also notified; he accepts and qualifies.

Maria Luisa Baudin states that although she, in her foregoing petition, asked to have a day and hour assigned for taking the inventory, it was omitted in the decree rendered to the said petition, therefore she prays it may please the Court to name the day and hour for taking this said inventory. Alcalde de Reggio rules: Let the 10th of the current month, at 9 o'clock in the morning, be assigned for taking the inventory.

Notify the parties to this effect.

Notification, acceptation, oath and bond. the said day, month and year (July In the city of New Orleans, on 5, 1784), the Escribano notified Francisco Broutin, Procurador Publico del Numero (One of a special number of attorneys qualified to practice before the Courts) of this city, of his appointment by the foregoing decree. He said he accepted and did accept and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed faithfully and legally with the duties of the curatorship to the best of his knowledge, taking counsel of persons of learning and ability competent to give it to him, and Francisco Carcases being present stated he constituted himself bondsman for the said Francisco Broutin, obligating himself as he did obligate himself so that if the said Francisco Broutin did not fulfill his promises through lack of intelligence, or negligence, his bondsman, acting as such, will perform all the duties of curator, reporting injuries, arrears, prejudices and losses caused to the said minors through his fault. For all of this he makes the obligations of this office his own, without the necessity of citation or any other legal procedure against the forenamed curator. He obligates himself to comply with what he has stated, inserting here the Guaranty Clause, and he renounces the laws in his favor with the general in the form that prohibits it. Thus this bond is executed and signed by the constituents, before Manuel Ramos and Manuel Monrroy, witnesses and residents, here present.

In the city of New Orleans, on the seventh of July of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, Francisco Maria de Reggio, Regidor Alferez Real and Alcalde Ordinario of this city and its jurisdiction for His Majesty, considering the acceptation, oath and bond made by Francisco Broutin, Curator ad lites for the minor children of Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, His Honor said: He approves and does approve the curatorship and bond, and in consequence thereof he appoints and does appoint him curator, giving him as he does give him the power that is required by law so that he may institute all judicial and extrajudicial proceedings that may be necessary to enforce the rights of the said minors, with corresponding directions, for the purpose, for a person so empowered, so that he may act in any incidental and subordinate matter with free, frank and general administration, inter-

posing for its greater validation and force his authority and judicial decree inasmuch as it has place in law. For this His Honor has decreed, thus he has ordered and signed, to which the Escribano attests.

Francisco Broutin offers no objection to lites to the minors, sets forth that the records of the case have been delivered to him so that he may promote what is convenient to the interest of his minors, and having examined them he offers no objections to what it has pleased the Court to order, namely, the taking of the inventory on the day and hour appointed, and he further agrees to the making of an estimate and to the two appraisers named. Alferez Real de Reggio rules: As it is prayed in all.

A marginal note specifies that The two slaves mentioned in the will the petition was presented by parties without their signatures because they said they did not know how to write. New Orleans, July 8, 1784. To which the Escribano attests. (Signed) Perdomo, Margarita, a negress, and her daughter, Maria Adelaida, a mulattress, in the proceedings instituted at the death of Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, their owner, etc., in the best process of law, say: That as it is patent from clause 14 of the will under disposition of which their master died, he ordered that just as soon as his death took place his testamentary executrix and guardian of his estate must execute in their favor the necessary acts of emancipation. Therefore may it please the Court to decree that Maria Luisa Baudin, his widow, testamentary executrix and guardian of his property, grant the said acts. Alcalde de Reggio receives this petition and on July 9, 1784, decrees:

Considering that by clause 14 of Santiago Llorens' will, under the disposition of which he died, it was ordered that just as soon as his death took place his testamentary executrix and guardian of his estate must grant the negress Margarita and the mulattress Maria Adelaida, his slaves, their freedom, therefore His Honor orders that the present Escribano execute the said acts of emancipation, and also that he notify Maria Luisa Baudin so that she may sign the said instruments. The interested parties must be given, respectively, certified copies of these acts.

In the city of New Orleans, on the tenth of July of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, Francisco Maria de Reggio, Regidor Alferez Real and Alcalde Ordinario of this city, with Francisco Broutin, Curator ad lites of the minor children of Santiago Llorens, and the present Escribano went to the dwelling house of the abovesaid where they found Maria Luisa Baudin, Testamentary Executrix

716

and Guardian of the estate, Josef Adrian de la Place and Andres Wackernie. His Honor ordered them to begin the proceedings of making an inventory and valuation of the property, which was done in the following manner:

Firstly, they placed in the inventory and appraised 5 table cloths and 5 dozen napkins, all new	
new	
10 pairs of Rouen linen sheets 50	
10 pairs of Rouen linen sheets 50	P.
9 small three-point blankets and 1 large)
Woolen blanket 32	2
5 blankets, the same 10	
18 taborets and 2 old chairs 25	
6 shirts, 3 pairs of long trousers, torn, with	
4 pairs of thread stockings	
100	
168	
Brought forward 168	
2 pairs of silk trousers and 2 vests, 1 black	
	-4
17 pieces of table silver, 3 soup ladles, the	
same, with 2 spoons for coffee 160	
18 knives 4	-4
1 mirror with a gilded frame 20	
4 landscapes with glasses	
12 cups and saucers, 1 sugar bowl, 1 teapot,	
1 coffee pot and 1 painted china pitcher 6	
1 tapestry ornament for the hall 15	
3 cotton curtains, 1 blue and 2 white 15	
385	
Brought forward 385	
Brought forward 385	
2 cylinders 6	
2 cylinders	
2 cylinders	
2 cylinders	
2 cylinders 6 1 china cup and saucer 1 1 half table, with a marble top, in good condition 12 3 cypress tables 5	
2 cylinders 6 1 china cup and saucer 1 1 half table, with a marble top, in good condition 12 3 cypress tables 5 8 large earthen water jars 48	
2 cylinders 6 1 china cup and saucer 1 1 half table, with a marble top, in good condition 12 3 cypress tables 5 8 large earthen water jars 48 400 pots of bear fat 200	
2 cylinders 6 1 china cup and saucer 1 1 half table, with a marble top, in good condition 12 3 cypress tables 5 8 large earthen water jars 48 400 pots of bear fat 200 18 small and large pots 11	
2 cylinders 6 1 china cup and saucer 1 1 half table, with a marble top, in good condition 12 3 cypress tables 5 8 large earthen water jars 48 400 pots of bear fat 200 18 small and large pots 11 2 pairs of fire irons for the chimney, with	
2 cylinders	
2 cylinders 6 1 china cup and saucer 1 1 half table, with a marble top, in good condition 12 3 cypress tables 5 8 large earthen water jars 48 400 pots of bear fat 200 18 small and large pots 11 2 pairs of fire irons for the chimney, with tongs, shovel, 2 frying pans, 1 spit and 1 coffee pot 12	
2 cylinders	
2 cylinders 6 1 china cup and saucer	

Brought forward	716
2 pairs of yellow metal and plated candle- sticks	5
1 walnut armoire, in good condition, to keep chinaware	25
	746

Papers

A promissory note for 1000 pesos, in favor of the deceased, including 100 pots of lard drawn by Mr. Tounoir, Marked No. 1.

Another, the same, drawn up by the said Tounoir in favor of the deceased, for the same amount and number of pots of lard, No. 2.

At this point, because the 12 o'clock bell for prayers had rung, His Honor ordered this proceeding suspended, to be resumed when convenient, leaving all the effects that had been inventoried and appraised in the keeping of the testamentary executrix, here present, who acknowledges to have received everything mentioned therein and drew up a formal receipt for same. She signed, with His Honor and the two appraisers, to which the Escribano attests. (Signed) Francisco Maria de Reggio, Francisco Broutin, Adrian Josef de la Place, Wackernie, Marilouise Baudein, before Rafael Perdomo, Escribano (Clerk of the Court.)

The inventory is resumed on July 12, 1784, in the presence of the above named officials and parties, who went to Bayou St. John, about a league away from the city, so as to continue the inventory of the plantation left by Santiago Llorens called Tarascon. They began with the livestock. The first item listed is an entry of:

10 cows with their calves	360 336	P.	
12 more cows with their calves	432		
14 more cows without calves	336		
12 bulls 10 years old	264		
10 more aged 1 year	150		
17 bulls aged 3 years	320		
	2198		
Brought forward	2198		
9, the same, aged 1 year	126		
10 yokes of oxen	600		
300 pesos in hard silver	300		
200 more in paper	200		
3 long narrow carts and 1 small cart, in good		1	
condition	50	2	

Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Lo	nisiana 277
1 plough with all its equipment, in good con-	
dition	24
8 axes, 8 hoes, 8 shovels, and 3 sprinkling cans	55
10 large and small pots and 1 spit	10
2 pairs of copper candlesticks	2
	3565
Brought forward	3565
1 light gig for 2 horses, with all harnesses,	
in good condition	350
1 mounted copper bell	10
	3925
same. It was resumed later in the presence of the officials and parties. The first item listed is: A negress named Maria, aged 30 years, a washer, ironer and cook	750 P.
A Creole negro named Luis, employed as a	
driver, aged 50 years	400
Another named Lindo, a Mandringo negro, aged 35 years	500
afotom your allowed and particles a beautiful to the feature of a section of a section and the	1650
Brought forward	1650
Another Mandringo Negro, named Nicolas,	700
aged 23 years.	500
Another named Pedro, of the Caravali tribe, aged 25	. 500
A Congo negro called Santiago, aged 22	
A Creole negress named Mariana, aged 40	500
A Crenie neuress named Wariana auen All	500

A daughter of the abovesaid, a Creole negress

aged 7 years.....

A little negress, named Carlota, aged 13 years, a Creole of North America.....

A negress named Angelica, aged 37, a cook, washer and ironer.....

250

400

600

Brought forward A mulattress named Maria Luisa, aged 5	4800
The plantation measuring 20 arpents of land fronting on Bayou St. John, with a depth up to Santilly (Gentilly), with various fruit trees. A new house 34 feet front with the same depth, with 4 rooms, a gallery 8 feet wide on 3 sides, a kitchen, 1 store room, 6 cabins for negroes have been built on this land, near another house with a storeroom	150
in bad condition, also included, and all were appraised at	4600
	9550
Another plantation on the same Bayou, consisting of 8 arpents of land, with various fruit trees, and upon which a house has been built	9550
measuring 40 feet front, with back and front galleries, together with a new store room 30 feet front by 16 deep, valued at	2200
	11750

The proceeding was suspended because there was nothing further to inventory, to be continued elsewhere at some other time. The real property and slaves were deposited with Mrs. Llorens who gave a formal receipt for same, in accordance with the law of deposit, under the penalty of such and in default to pay the full value of what she has received. She signed with the officials and appraisers, as above.

In the city of New Orleans, on July 13, 1784, the forenamed officials and parties went to the house belonging to the Llorens succession to appraise it. This house is situated on Bourbon Street, measuring 60 feet front by 120 deep, with 2 galleries, 2 cabinets, 3 rooms and a kitchen. It is adjoined on one side by Mr. Blache's lot and on the other by that of Mr. Masico, and having examined everything carefully, in fulfillment of the duties of their obligations, the appraisers value the house and lot at.

2500 P.

On the same day the officials and parties proceeded to appraise a second piece of real property,

situated at the corner of St. Philip and Burgundy streets, measuring 60 feet front by 159 deep, adjoined on one side by Mr. Lacoste's property and on the other by Mr. Champion. The house contains 3 rooms, 1 kitchen and 1 cabin, which they have inspected carefully, in accordance with the duties of their obligation, and have unanimously agreed that, considering the condition of the place and without injury to the parties, they appraise

3200

And because there was nothing more to appraise they concluded the proceeding and signed as above.

more property.

Francisco Broutin petitions to Francisco Broutin asks to have Mrs. say that, having inventoried and Llorens declare whether there is any placed a just price on the entire placed a just price on the entire Llorens estate, he prays the Court

to order Maria Luisa Baudin, under oath and without delay, to swear and declare whether she knows of any property other than what has already been inventoried, and done deliver her deposition to him to be used to enforce his rights. Alferez de Reggio rules: Let the party named swear and declare as requested, the taking of her deposition to be entrusted to the present Escribano, and done deliver it to Francisco Broutin.

In the city of New Orleans, on Mrs. Llorens makes her declaration. the said day, month and year (July 13, 1784), pursuant to the foregoing decree, the Escribano went to the dwelling house of Maria Luisa Baudin, widow of Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, and arriving there he received the oath she made by God and the Cross, according to law, under the charge of which she promised to speak the truth, and having been examined upon the foregoing written request she said she had no knowledge of any other property besides what she had placed on manifest, and in case she located anything else she will present it as she has done with those already inventoried.

The Curator to the minors prays Mr. Broutin presents a second petition. the Court to approve the inventory and to order all parties to abide by it, interposing his authority and judicial decree to this effect.

In a secondary petition he sets forth that, for the approval of the said inventories, Maria Luisa Baudin must render an account of all properties, and in order to continue the proceedings for the settlement of this succession until its conclusion, may it please the Court to direct Mrs. Llorens to appoint an Attorney to represent her in this cause. Francisco Maria de Reggio rules: In the principal petition, as it is prayed, and to the secondary one let Pedro

Bertonière, Procurador Publico del Numero, be named to defend the testamentary executrix. He must be notified in due form for his acceptation and oath.

Notification, acceptation and oath. On the said day, month and year (July 14, 1784), Pedro Bertonière was personally notified, and he said he accepted and did accept and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed well and faithfully with the duties of his charge, and he signed, to which the Escribano attests.

Francisco Maria de Reggio decrees: Whereas, with the consent of the parties he approves the inventory and appraisement made of the property that remained after the death of Santiago Llorens, and in virtue of which His Honor said he must condemn and does condemn the parties to abide by them, interposing for its greater validation and force his authority and judicial decree inasmuch as it has place in law.

Pedro Bertonière, Procurador Publico del Numero (One of a special number of attorneys commissioned to practice in the Courts) of this city, defender named for Maria Luisa Baudin, widow of Santiago Llorens called Tarascon, in the proceedings to inventory and appraise the estate left at his death, etc., said: That in order to enforce the rights of his client, may it please the Court to decree that the records of the case be delivered to him. Alferez de Reggio rules: Let the records of the case be delivered to Pedro Bertonière in the usual way.

Pedro Bertonière again petitions, Pedro Bertonière again petitions, asking to adjudicate the estate to the widow at the price of its valuation. This time setting forth that the records of the case have been delivered to him so that he may present what belongs by right to his client, and reducing her claim to plain facts he prays the Court to adjudicate to her all property inventoried, at the price of its valuation, so as to avoid greater expenses and the prejudices that the sale would cause to Mrs. Llorens and her minor children. It must also be considered that from the usufruct of her late husband's estate she would have funds to educate, feed and

clothe the minors. For these reasons, the Alcalde is requested to

determine, in conformity to what has been stated at the beginning of this written petition, and she will obligate herself to deliver to each one of the children what belongs to his and her legitimate paternal inheritance, when each one becomes of age. Alcalde de Reggio orders the above sent to the Curator of the minors.

Francisco Broutin answers, refusing the widow's request.

Francisco Broutin answers, saying he cannot consent to Mrs. Lloren's request, as it will be very prejudicial to his minors, because by selling all the property at

public auction now it would bring double its valuation, consequently of great benefit to both the children and the widow. Therefore he prays the Court to order all property sold at auction. Alferez de Reggio rules to send this petition to the Auditor, and on August 5, 1784, Francisco Maria de Reggio, on Juan del Postigo's advice, decrees to send the above petition to the widow.

Pedro Bertonière, attorney for Pedro Bertonière answers, opposing the Mrs. Llorens, answers for her, averring that the pretentions of the Curator to the minors, as made patent in his last petition, is in no way favorable to them, because it is publicly and generally known that all property put up for sale at auction loses nearly twothirds of its value; besides, in order to be able to sell, it is necessary, in almost every case, to grant one year to pay for purchases, and the said Curator is not ignorant of the fact that even on the said terms six months more elapses before any collections can be made, during which time the vendee enjoys his purchase and the interested parties suffer the loss of their funds, and as she supports her family and herself on what her husband left, it would be an impossibility for her to continue to do so if deprived of the use of the plantation, livestock and slaves, which form the greater part of the estate. She must further represent to the Court that she has a son, who has no other occupation than that of laborer on their place, and should the property be sold he would be absolutely without the means to earn his living or that of the others. Therefore she prays the Alcalde to disregard the Curator's request and to order in conformity to what she has prayed in her written petition on page 47, and to adjudicate to her the said inheritance at the price of its valuation. Alferez de Reggio, on Juan del Postigo's advice, receives this petition and on August 11, 1784, decrees:

Whereas: Adjudicate to Maria Decree. Luisa Baudin, widow of Santiago Tarascon, the property inventoried, left by her said husband, at the price of its valuation. She must make herself responsible to her children for the legitimate paternal inheritance that should go

widow give statement. an account and sworn

to each one of them.

Francisco Broutin petitions to Francisco Broutin prays to have the say that, having adjudicated all the property, at the price of its valuation, to Maria Luisa Baudin, may

it please the Court to order her to give an account and sworn statement of it, so as to draw up the schedule for partition of the estate later on, and thereby make evident the share that should go to each one of the heirs. Francisco Maria de Reggio, on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: As it is prayed.

On August 19, 1784, Francisco Francisco Broutin presents a second petition, accusing Mrs. Llorens of being in default.

Maria de Reggio presents a second petition, wherein he declares that petition, wherein he declares that Maria Luisa Baudin was ordered to

give an account and sworn statement of all the property, and although several days have passed she has not done so, nor given any answer to his request, therefore he accuses her of being in default and prays the Court to compel her to render this said account. Alferez de Reggio decrees: Let the attorney empowered to represent the widow of Santiago Llorens be notified that within three days, without fail, he must present the account and sworn statement he has been ordered to render.

The Account and Sworn State-The Account and Sworn Statement. ment that Maria Luisa Baudin, widow of Santiago Tarascon, gives of the property, that has been placed in her keeping, left at the death of her late husband, is set down in the following manner:

Credit (Assets)	Ps.	Rs.
Firstly, she makes a credit of the sum of seven hundred and forty-six pesos, the full amount of the valuation of the effects inventoried in this		
For the same reason she credits the sum of two thousand pesos, the full amount of the value of two hundred pots of bear fat, according to the two promissory notes issued in favor of the said deceased, her husband, by Juan Bautista Tounoir, according to the inventory on the reverse side of	746	
page 34	2000	
In the same way she credits the sum of three		
thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pesos for		
the full amount of what appears inventoried from page 35 to page 36 of these proceedings	3925	
In like manner she credits the sum of eleven		
thousand seven hundred and fifty pesos for the full value of the negroes and plantation belonging		
to this succession, as appears from the inven-		
tory on pages 37 and 38	11750	
She also credits the sum of two thousand five		
hundred pesos, the full amount of the value of a		
house belonging to this inheritance, as appears in the inventory on page 39	2500	
In like manner she credits the sum of three		
thousand two hundred pesos, the full value of the		
house entered in the inventory on page 40	3200	
The full amount of the credits, or assets	24121	

From this sum of twenty-four thousand one hundred and twenty-one pesos with which she credits herself, not having any debit (charges and deductions) to subtract from it, except the costs of the case, which must be taken from it when taxation of same will be made, she swears this credit is true, save errors of the pen and omissions. (Signed) Pedro Bertonière.

Pedro Bertonière, acting for Widow Llorens, sets forth that he has been notified of a decree by which he was ordered to give an account and sworn statement of the estate left by the late Mr. Llorens, and deposited with his widow, and pursuant to this said decree, he duly presents this said accounting and prays the Court to order all parties to abide by it. Alferez de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: The account and sworn statement having been presented, let it be sent to the Curator of the minors.

Francisco Broutin answers, stat-Francisco Broutin answers, requesting ing he has received the account the Widow to present the debit. and sworn statement presented by Maria Luisa Baudin, wherein she, so as to avoid the costs of writing two or three more sheets of paper, has rendered a very informal account, contrary to the rules and formalities of law, because she has failed to give any debit, such as funeral expenses, burial, payment to the surgeon who has treated her husband during his last illness and other disbursements, which are indispensible, with the vouchers that should be attached to the said account of expenditures and costs. Therefore he prays to have the widow ordered to present, within a short space of time, her account in better form, with both Credit and Debit and receipts as proof of payment. This will obviate the necessity of making other petitions and thereby avoid further costs, with a warning that Mrs. Llorens alone will be condemned to defray all said costs, and without which he cannot contest her said accounts. Alcalde de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: Let the above be sent to the widow.

Francisco Broutin, in a second petition, claiming the widow has not yet petition, avers that he has requested to have Mrs. Llorens give both the Credit and Debit in her account and sworn statement of the property in her charge. She was also handed his last petition, and although several days have passed she has not been willing to take the records, nor to answer anything, of which default he accuses her. Therefore may it please His Honor to order whatever will be according to law. Francisco Maria de Reggio, on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: Let the party answer for the first hearing.

Vouchers and new account and sworn neral and burial of Jacques Tarasstatement.

For the burial	3-2
For the assistance of two priests	3
For three singers	4-4
For three acolytes dressed in black	1
For the beadle and sacristan	2
For the cope	2-4
For the bells	3
For black covering for the altar	1
For the pall for the deceased	1
For the vigil	4
For 30 candles for the Church	7-4
For the grave in the Church	1-4
For 20 new candles for distribution	7-4
For 3 Masses for the soul of the deceased	3

(Amounting to 44 pesos 6 reales)

New Orleans, June 30, 1784. (Signed) Father Antonio de Sedella.

Voucher No. 2. Bill for the Anniversary service held today, the 28th of July, for the soul of the late Jacobo Lorenzo:

For the Mass	5-
For 4 singers	6-
For the assistance of 2 priests	1
For the Sacristan and 2 acolytes	1-2
For the Cross and 1 censer	-4
For the Cope	2-4
For the bells	3-
	1-
For the representation (Memorial sermon?)	1-
For the nocturn	4-
For 7 pounds of new wax	9-4

(Amounting to 34 pesos 7 reales)

New Orleans, July 28, 1784. (Signed) Father Antonio de Sedella.

Voucher No. 3. July 20, 1784. The Succession of Jacques Tarascon owes Durel for the following:

	P.R.
7½ ells of crepe at 4 reals	3-6
4 pairs of gloves at 4 reales	2-
3 candles at 12 reales	4-4
12 (ells) of serge at 3 reales	4-4
3 pairs of black silk stockings at 2 pesos	6

20-6

Received twenty piastres 6 escalins from Mrs. Jacques Tarascon. New Orleans, September 16, 1784. (Signed) Durel.

Voucher No. 4. Received from Mr. Ilere Boutet 6 piastres for having carried the body of the late Mr. Tarascon to his grave, July 4, 1784. (Signed) Simon and Laurens Jr.

Mrs. Llorens then presents the assets of her account and sworn statement, namely:

Credit		
For the sale of the effects inventoried	746	STAIL THE
Amount due for bear fat	2000	(2100?)
From the sale of the livestock	3925	
For slaves and plantation		
For 1st misse of med manager	OFOO	

11750 2500 3200	
24221	2014
	· ·
44-6	
34-7	
20-6	
6-	
5	
200	
	2500 3200 24221 44-6 34-7 20-6 6- 5

the vouchers, etc.

	341	P. 3	R.
Recapitulation			

30

Assets		3	
Remainder	23879	5	6.116

She swears by God, Our Lord, and a Sign of the Cross, according to law, that this account is true, save error of the pen and omission. (Signed) Pedro Bertonière.

Pedro Bertonière petitions to present when he presented the account and sworn statement for Mrs. Llorens, on page 57, it was to show the property in her keeping, not to save costs (of paper) as the Curator has said, and was rather to prove to the Court her disinterestedness concerning her children's affairs. Therefore, to avoid further petitioning on the part of the said Curator in this matter, she duly submits a new account and sworn statement, with Credit, Debit and vouchers to verify her entries, as she has been ordered to do by His Honor, and having presented this said accounting she prays that all parties be condemned to abide by it. Alcalde de Reggio rules: The accounting having been presented, let it and the foregoing petition be sent to the Curator of the minors.

Contestations made by Francisco Broutin contests the Widow's Broutin, Curator ad lites to the minor children of the late Santiago Lauriens called Tarascon, to the Account and Sworn Statement presented by Maria Luisa Baudin, widow of the said Tarascon, Testamentary Executrix and guardian of the estate, of all the property in her keeping:

Credit

Firstly, he approves the 746 pesos, the full value of the furniture and effects inventoried on page 33 to the reverse side of page 34 He also approves the sum of 2100 pesos, the full amount of Juan Bautista Tounoir's note in favor of the late Santiago Tarascon, reverse side	746
of page 34	2100
He further approves the 3925 pesos, the appraised value of the livestock belonging to the succession, reverse side of page 36	3925
He also approves the 11750 pesos, the full amount of the appraisement of the slaves and 2 plantations, reverse side of page 38	11750
He further approves the 2500 pesos, the appraised value of the house on Bourbon Street, page 39	2500
And lastly he approves the 3200 pesos, the appraised value of the house, corner of St. Philip and Burgundy, inventoried on page 40	3200
Total of Credit	24221

Debit

Firstly, he approves the 44 pesos 6 reales, paid to Padre Antonio by the widow, as appears from his receipt No. 1	44-6	
He also approves the 34 pesos 7 reales paid by the widow to Padre Antonio for the anniver- sary service for the deceased, according to his re- ceipt No. 2	34-7	
He further approves the 20 pesos 6 reales paid to Juan B. Durel for what he has supplied for the funeral, as appears from his receipt No. 3.	20-6	
He also approves the 6 pesos paid by the widow to the pallbearers for carrying her husband's body to the cemetery, as appears from the receipt No. 4	6	
He also approves the 5 pesos paid to the carpenter for making the coffin, although there is no receipt to prove it	5	
He does not approve the debit of 200 pesos, which should be 170 pesos, the amount entered for mourning for Widow Baudin, her children and servants, considering she makes her home on the plantation and that expenses there are very little. Besides the said widow is greatly benefitted because of the adjudication of all property to her at the price of its valuation	170	
He approves the sum of 30 pesos, which includes the taxation of costs for the work of the widow's attorney, Pedro Bertonière, for the account and sworn statement, for examining the inventory and for gathering together the vouchers filed in this cause	30	
For the same reason he must enter in the debit, of the said widow, 30 pesos which includes the taxation of costs that will be made and his, Broutin's, fees for his labors in contesting her account and verification of the said inventories, together with this account and sworn statement.	30	
Total Debit	341-3	
Recenitulation		

Recapitulation

Assets, Total of	Credit	24221

23879 - 5

The remainder amounts to twenty-three thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pesos, five reales, save error or omission, one-half of which belongs to the minors. (Signed) Francisco Broutin.

Note: The said Widow must give an account to the minors for one-half of 2000 pesos due this succession, as appears on the reverse side of page 13 of Santiago Tarascon's will, when it will be collected from the Baltasar de Villiers' estate.

Item. The Widow must also give an account to the minors for the one-half of 3336 pesos, the full amount realized from the sale of 9 negroes which was made before Leonardo Mazange who has charge of the said collections, as appears on page 14 of the Tarascon will. (Signed) Francisco Broutin.

Francisco Broutin avers he has francisco Broutin avers he has duly presented his contestation of the Widow's account and sworn statement, and he prays the Court to approve it and to order all parties to abide by it, interposing, to this effect, his authority and judicial decree. Alferez Real de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, accepts this petition for a future ruling, which is rendered as follows:

In the city of New Orleans, on the twenty-eighth of September of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, Francisco Maria de Reggio, Alcalde Ordinario of this city, having examined these records, said: He must approve and does approve the accounting presented therein and orders all parties to abide by it, for all of which he interposes his authority and judicial decree inasmuch as the law requires him to do so. For this is his decree, thus he has ordered and signed. (Signed) Francisco Maria de Reggio; Licenciado Postigo. Before Rafael Perdomo, Notary Public and Clerk of the Court.

Francisco Broutin states that the settlement of this succession is nearly finished, and as he has renounced his office of Procurator, in favor of Antonio Mendez, may it please the Court to order a taxation of costs, to be paid by Maria Luisa Baudin, so that he may obtain what belongs to him.

In a secondary petition, he prays His Honor to order the said taxer to include in the costs the 30 pesos he has entered in his debit, for his labor to contest the widow's account and sworn statement, as he should be paid the same amount as she has placed in her debit for her attorney's fees. Alferez de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, decrees: In the main petition, let the costs of the case be taxed by Luis Lioteau, who must first

accept and take oath. To the secondary petition, the taxer will adjust said fees in accordance with justice, which must be paid by Mrs. Tarascon.

The next entry is a certified copy of the Marriage Contract drawn up between Mr. and Mrs. Llorens, and reads in part, that before the Notary Royal of the Province of Louisiana, resident at New Orleans, were present Jacques Lorens, son of the late Jacques Laurens and Marie Avril, native of Mobile, for one part, and Madame Francoise Paille, stipulating for her daughter, Miss Marie Louise Baudin, here present and consenting, a daughter of Nicolas Baudin, a native of Mobile, for the other part.

The said parties, of their own free will and accord, have promised, with the advice and consent of their relatives and friends, hereinafter named, to-wit: For the future husband, Louis Brariere called Tourangeau and Charles Laurins, his brother, and for the part of the future wife, Claude Benoit Avignon and Baptiste Gautherot, who promise to take each other in the name of the law and by the Sacrament of Marriage, which will be solemnized forthwith, by Our Holy Mother, the Church, and in consequence whereof, upon the advice of their relatives and friends, they have drawn up the following contract.

The future husband and wife will be one and in community for all movable and immovable property, acquits and immovable acquisitions, according to the Customs of Paris, which they agree to follow throughout their contract, renouncing all others to the contrary, even when they acquire property under other laws. They wish it to be understood that their future community will be governed by those of Paris alone.

They will not be held responsible for the debts contracted before their future marriage, but to the contrary they must be acquitted and paid by the one who will have contracted them, without involving the property of the other.

The property of the future wife consists at present of a negro, named Luis, twenty-six years old, in the place of a negress, named Christine, coming to her from the succession of her late father, Nicolas Baudin, by exchange between them. The said negro is valued at 2000 livres, of which sum one-third will be entered as community and the other remaining two-thirds will be held for the children who may be born of the future marriage. The future husband and wife acknowledge they have no right to demand an accounting from Mrs. Francoise Paille, their mother, regarding the succession of the late Mr. Baudin, their father, and hereby acquit and discharge her from said accounting. The property of the future husband, according to the appraisement made by the parties here present, consists of the sum of 6000 livres, which includes

his livestock and ready money. It has been agreed that one-third of this sum will be entered in the community and the other two-thirds will go to his heirs and assigns.

The said future husband gives and donates to the said future wife the sum of 2000 livres as a fixed dowry, paid once, and the principal will eventually go to the children born of the future marriage or to the members of his family. For the security of this dowry he obligates and mortgages his present and future estate, and particularly the first immovable property he may acquire.

The survivor of the said future husband and wife may take as preciput the sum of 1000 livres from the movables of the said community, according to the appraised value at the time the inventory will be made, without increase, or in cash money, at the choice of the survivor.

The said future wife and the children that may be born will be permitted to accept or renounce the community, and in case of renunciation she may take back freely and without obligation all she will have brought to the marriage, or that she may have acquired by donation, legacy or substitution, or in whatever way it may have come to her, as well as her dowry and preciput, and she can not be held responsible for any debt, although she may have agreed to pay same or may have been condemned to do so, and in such a case she must be indemnified for them from the property of her said future husband.

And because of the great affection the future husband and wife bear for each other, they make and do make, by these presents, an irrevocable donation inter vivos, in the best legal form, of all their movable and immovable acquits and acquisitions, to be enjoyed by the survivor in full ownership, as property belonging to him or her, their heirs and assigns. However, should no children be born of the marriage, in that case the present donation becomes null and void, but in the event of the death of the children, if any, then the said donation regains it full force and tenor. For the validity of the said donation the interested parties obligate themselves to have it registered in the Greffier's Office (Clerk of the Superior Council). And for the execution of these presents they have appointed the bearer of same, their attorney, to whom they grant all power necessary, for so it is agreed, obligating, promising, renouncing, etc. Done and executed in this office, at New Orleans, in the presence of Paul Gardrat, Surgeon Major of this city, Pierre Couturier and Andre Sadoux, witnesses residing therein, the thirteenth of October one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven. And having been questioned, according to law, Mr. Tourangeaux and Charles Laurens, as well as Mrs. Francoise Paillet, declared they did not know how to write. Those signing, with the undersigned Notary, were: Jacques Lorrains, Marie Louise Baudin, Avegnon, Gautherau, Couturier, Gardra(t), Sadoux, and Garic, Notary.

Pedro Bertonière states that he Pedro Bertonière states that he has duly presented Mrs. Llorens' Marriage Contract to prove her dower rights. Therefore he prays to have it accepted and considered when the division will be made of the estate between her children and herself. Alferez de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: The document having been presented, let it be considered in drawing up the accounts for partition.

Pedro Bertonière asks to have Antonio Francisco Broutin, Curator ad lites to the Llorens minors, has renounced his Office of Public Attorney in favor of Antonio Mendez, and the latter has taken over the use and exercise of same, therefore may it please the Court to appoint him Curator, so that these proceedings relative to this succession may be continued. Francisco Maria de Reggio, on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: Let Antonio Mendez be appointed (Curator). He must be notified for his acceptation, oath and bond. And done, return the records to the Court so that the Act appointing a Curator may be issued.

On the said day, month and year Notification, acceptation and Bond. (October 15, 1784), Antonio Mendez, Public Attorney, was notified that he had been named defensor, and in virtue of which he said he accepted and did accept, and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed well and faithfully with the duties of his office to the best of his knowledge, taking counsel of persons versed in such matters, willing to give it to him. And there was present Francisco Carcasses, who said he constituted himself bondsman for the said Mendez, promising that in the event the latter does not comply with the requirements of his appointment, through lack of knowledge, or negligence, he, as bondsman, makes himself responsible for damages, arrears, prejudices and losses, suffered by the minors, through poor defense of their rights, and makes their cause and affairs his own, with execution, citation and all other proceedings against the Curator that may be necessary. And in fulfillment thereof he obligates his person and present and future estates, inserting here the Warranty Clause, renouncing the laws in his favor, with the general that prohibits it. For thus he has executed and signed, and the witnesses here present were Manuel Galbes and Manuel Monrroy. (Signed) Francisco Carcasses, before Rafael Perdomo.

Act appointing the Curator.

In the city of New Orleans, the sixteenth of October of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, Francisco Maria de Reggio, Alferez Real and Alcalde Ordinary of this city and its jurisdiction for His Majesty, having seen the acceptation, oath and bond, given for Antonio Mendez, Curator ad lites for the

minor children of Santiago Tarascon, said: That he must and does issue the act appointing him Curator and must and does grant the necessary power required by law, so that he may represent the minors, and when needed he must take counsel of persons versed in such matters, competent to give it, and for its greater force he interposes his authority and judicial decree, as the law requires, and further orders that the records of the case be delivered to the Curator so that he may promote whatever may be convenient. And he signed, to which Escribano attests. (Signed) Francisco Maria de Reggio; Licenciado Postigo; before Rafael Perdomo.

Antonio Mendez petitions for a partition ney and Curator ad lites to the minor children of Santiago Llorens, sets forth that in order to arrive at a knowldege of what belongs to his representation, may it please the Court to order a partition made of the estate. Alferez de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, decrees: Let Luis Lioteaud make a division of the property left at the death of Santiago Tarascon, so that by his schedule it may be seen what part belongs to each one of the children.

On the said day, month and year (October 18, 1784), the Escribano notified Luis Lioteaud, in person, and he said he accepted and did accept, and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed well and faithfully with the duties of his appointment, and will draw up the schedule as ordered. To which the Escribano attests.

Taxation of the costs of the legal proceedings of the succession of Santiago Laurains called Tarascon, in conformity to the last decree and in accordance with the Royal Tariff of fees. The said proceedings containing one hundred and five sheets of paper.

Received.
De Reggio's paraph.

To Francisco Maria de Reggio, two hundred and thirty-two reales for twenty-three half signatures, eight full signatures, two assistances in the country and three in the city......

232 Reales

Perdomo's paraph.

To the Escribano, Rafael Perdomo, for his fees in the performance of his duties, writing and other occupations, two assistances in the country and three in the city, four hundred and forty-six reales

446

	To Escribano Fernando Rodriguez, for one certification, four reales	4
Broutin	To Attorney Broutin, two hundred and six reales for ten petitions, the accounting on page 77, adjusted in accordance with the decree on the reverse side of page 87, and for six assistances (in the city) and two in the country	206
Bertonière	To Attorney Pedro Bertonière, forty reales, for eight petitions	40
Mendez.	To Attorney Antonio Mendez, for two written petitions, five reales	5
Agent's paraph.	To Widow Tarascon's agent, ten reales, for two written petitions	10
Agent's paraph.	To the agent of the negress, Margarita, for one written peti- tion	5
De la Place	To Appraiser Josef de la Place, seventy-seven reales, for three assistances in the city and two in the country	77
Wackernie	To Appraiser Andres Wack- ernie, for three assistances in the city and two in the country, seventy-seven reales	77
Received Lioteaud's paraph.	To the Taxer, for this assignment, twenty-six reales	26
		1100 Da

1128 Rs. 141 Ps.

New Orleans, October 24, 1784. (Signed) Luis Liotaud.

Marginal Note: In order not to duplicate the sum that should go to Pedro Bertonière for the work of accounting on page 69, it has not been entered in this present taxation, because it has already been deducted from the body of the estate, as appears from the foregoing partition. For this reason he must be paid the said sum, which is 30 pesos.

Antonio Mendez sets forth that Antonio Mendez petitions for a taxation the records of the case were deof costs and partition. livered to the Public Taxer, on the 26th of last October, to enable him to tax costs and draw up the schedule for the partition of the estate, but up to the present he has done neither one nor the other, therefore he prays the Court, in virtue of what he has just stated and because of prejudices to his representation, as also to the Ministers of Justice, to order him to fulfill the duties of his charge within the peremptory term of one day, and should he be unable to do so for any just cause, then let him exhibit the records in the present Escribano's Office from whence he had taken them, so that the Court may name some suitable person to make the taxation and division. The Alcalde, on the Assessor's advice, decrees: Let Luis Lioteaud be notified to surrender the records of the Santiago Tarascon Succession within the term of three days.

Antonio Mendez repeats his request for the taxation and partition.

The Curator states that by decree rendered on the 1st of the Current month, it has pleased the Court to order Luis Lioteaud, Public Taxer, to surrender the records in question, within a term of three days, and whereas he has not complied with this order, he prays to have them taken from him by judicial compulsion and sent to Esteban de Quinones, so that in consequence of this decree he may tax the said proceedings. Alferez de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: Notify Luis Lioteau to make the taxation within three days, as ordered, with a warning of what will have place in law.

The Partition.

In the city of New Orleans, on the twenty-fourth of October of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, Luis Lioteau, Judicial Accountant, in virtue of the foregoing decree, made the partition of the estate left at the death of Santiago Laurains called Tarascon, among Maria Luisa Baudin, the widow, and her three children, Francisca Laurains, wife of Juan Luis Allard, Pelagia, and Santiago Bautista Laurains, and having seen and examined the inventories, act of adjudication, the account and sworn statement and other official documents, and also all litigation and proceedings prosecuted and instituted in this cause, he makes the said partition in the following manner:

Body of the Estate

The first entry is the appraised value of the movables and effects	746	P.
Second, the amount of Mr. Tounoir's debt	2100	1
Third, the appraised value of the livestock	3925	1
Fourth, value of the slaves and plantation	11750	
Fifth, the appraised value of the houses	5700	

There must also be placed in the body of the estate three thousand three hundred and thirty-six pesos, for the amount of a judicial sale of nine negroes belonging to the said succession as declared by the deceased in his will, page 14 in this proceeding	
The body of this estate amounts to	27557
For the liquidation of the divisable property the following entries must be deducted: First item to be deducted from the body of the said estate is three hundred and forty-one pesos, three reales, the full amount of the six articles that make up the debit in the account and sworn statement presented by the Widow, who was guardian of her husband's estate, from page 71 to page 74,	
There must also be deducted from the body of the estate the 800 pesos the deceased willed to the four children of Juan Bautista Allard, as appears	341-3
There must also be deducted from the said estate the sum of seven hundred and fifty pesos, which belongs to Maria Luisa Baudin, widow of the deceased, for what she brought to the marriage as well as what she received from her parents' successions, as appears in her marriage contract filed	800
on page 89 There must further be deducted from the body of the estate six hundred pesos that also belong to the Widow for her dowry and prenuptial	750
donation, stipulated in her marriage contract Likewise, there must be deducted from the body of the said estate the sum of one hundred and forty-one pesos, the amount of the taxation	600
of costs	141
The full amount that has to be deducted from the body of the estate is two thousand six hundred and thirty-two pesos 3 reales	2632-3
The full amount of the body of the estate is The full amount to be deducted from it is	27557 2632-3
The reduced capital, remaining, of the said estate which must be divided among the widow and her three children amounts to	24924-5

Which, when divided, the one-half that should go to Maria Luisa Baudin amounts to	
To Francisca Laurains, wife of Juan Luis Allard, for one-third of the other one-half	4154—28M.
To Pelagia Lorains, for one-third of the other one-half	4154—28M.
To Santiago Bautista Laurains, for one-third of the other one-half	4154—28M.
The sum total of the four entries amounts to	24924-5

Thus the said Judicial Accountant has made the division and adjudication, which he certifies he has done well and faithfully, according to his legal knowledge and understanding, and so he signed. (Signed) Luis Lioteau.

Note: Just as soon as the collection will be made of the 2000 pesos due the succession by Captain Baltazar de Villiers, it must be divided in accordance with this partition, as community property, namely: one-half for the widow and the other one-half among the three foresaid children. (Signed) Luis Lioteau.

On January 14, 1785, Luis Lioteau petitions for an adjust-teau states that as Judicial Accountant he has drawn up the schedule for the partition of Santiago Lorens' estate, therefore he prays the Court to order an adjustment of his fees for this work. Nicolas Forstall, on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: Let Rafael Perdomo adjust fees.

Rafael Perdomo declares that he adjusts fees for the foregoing partition at 30 pesos, and for his own work in this matter at 15 reales. New Orleans, January 25, 1785.

Maria Luisa Baudin petitions to object to an item in the body of the estate.

Mrs. Lorens states that in the partition made of her husband's estate, the Judicial Accountant included a sum of 3333 pesos (3336), the proceeds of a judicial sale of several negroes made by Santiago Tarascon in the Office of Leonardo Mazange, late Escribano of this city, which he declared in his will. This amount was received from Mr. Mazange before he died and was spent in various ways during their married life for repairs on the house, for sickness and other causes. Therefore may it please the Court to order Leonardo Mazange to declare, under oath, whether it is not true that he delivered the said amount to her husband, who gave him a receipt for it, so that this clause in her husband's will mentioning this sum may be corrected. It did exist at the time the will was executed, but owing to the difference

between the date of the said will and his death, in the interval the transaction was completed. When Mr. Mazange's declaration is received, if it conforms to what she has set forth, she prays for a new partition of the estate, leaving out this said amount because it has already been spent, and to carry it as an asset prejudices her rights. Nicolas Forstall, on Juan del Postigo's advice, receives this petition and on March 15, 1784, decrees:

Whereas: Let Leonardo Mazange swear and declare how long before the death of Santiago Tarascon, he had delivered the funds proceeding from the sale of the negroes, belonging to the said Tarascon. Fees gratis. (Signed) Forstall; Licenciado Postigo.

In the city of New Orleans, on the fifth of April of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, pursuant to the foregoing decree, the Escribano went to Mr. Mazange's dwelling house to receive the declaration he has been ordered to make, and arriving there he administered the oath which was taken by God and the Cross, according to law, and under charge of same he promised to speak the truth, and having been examined upon the tenor of the said petition, he said he could not declare affirmatively upon the matter because he cannot remember anything about the transaction in question, which took place so long ago. He answered what he has deposed is the truth under charge of his oath, and that he is 48 years of age, and he signed, to which the Escribano attests.

Memorandum of the money that I have received from the Clerk's Office, proceeding from the sale of my slaves, as follows:

For Etienne, negro	P. 400
Alexandre	515
Louise and her child	620
Lucie	63
Clara	540
Catherine	615
Marie	250
and a secretary sufficient end at the entire son silven	3003
Upon which is paid	
for the sale of negroes 9-4	
at 5% due on the said	
3003 piastres 150	159.4
	2843-4

The above amount of 2843 pesos 4 reales was delivered. (Signed) Guinault.

I, the Notary Public, certify to have remitted to Mr. Tarascon the sum of 2043½ piastres (2843½), the amount due for the negroes of the Brasillier succession which were sold at my office, according to the receipt the said gentleman has given me this day, of which I am bearer and to which I refer. New Orleans, July 16, 1783. (Signed) Leonardo Mazange.

of the estate.

Maria Luisa Baudin avers that. Mrs. Llorens petitions to exclude the considering the Judicial Accountant has included in the partition of her husband's succession the sum

appearing in the document duly presented, which was delivered to him by Leonardo Mazange, late Notary Public of this city, and was spent during their married life and did not exist at the time of his death, and although he did declare it is his will, this was as a precauation, taken long before he received the money, and since then he let the said testament remain unchanged. Therefore, considering it has been proven that the deceased received the sum specified in the said document and that it is also the same as mentioned in the will and was spent before Mr. Tarascon's death, may it please the Court to order the partition made over again, removing from the body of the estate the sum mentioned in the said document. Alcalde Forstall receives this petition and later decrees:

Whereas: Let the Judicial Ac-Decree. countant make a new adjudication and partition of the estate left at the death of Santiago Tarascon, deducting from it the sum of 2043 pesos 4 reales.

In the city of New Orleans, on The Second Petition. the sixteenth of April of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, Luis Lioteau, Judicial Accountant, in virtue of the foregoing decree, made a new partition of the property left at the death of Santiago Laurains called Tarascon, among Maria Luisa Baudin, his widow, and his three children, Francisca Laurains, wife of Juan Luis Allard, Pelagia, and Santiago Bautista Laurains, and having seen and examined the inventory, proceedings of adjudication, account and sworn statement, and all other documents appertaining to it, also the litigation and decrees prosecuted and rendered relative to the matter, he has made the division in the following manner:

Body of the estate

1st entry. The appraised value of the mov-		
ables and effects	746	
2nd. Debt owed by Mr. Tounoir	2100	
3rd. Appraised value of the live stock	3925	
4th. Slaves and plantation	11750	
5th. Appraised value of the 2 houses	5700	
Sum total	24221	

From which must be deducted	
1st. The 7 entries of the debit in the account-	
ing	341-3
2nd. The legacy to the Allard children	800
3rd. The amount Mrs. Loreins received from	
her parents' successions	750
4th. Mrs. Loreins' dowry and preciput	600
5th. Taxation of the costs of the case	141
6th. For last costs	42-6
Sum total that must be deducted from the body of the estate	2675-1
Resumen	
The body of the estate amounts to	24221
From which must be deducted	
Capital remaining	21545-7
Which having been divided among Mrs.	
Llorens and her children, she receives	10772-71/2
Mrs. Allard receives	3590—28M.
Pelagia Llorreins receives	3590—28M.
Santiago Lorreins receives	3590—28 M .
Sum total	21545-7

In this manner the Judicial Accountant has made the adjudication and partition and certifies that the work has been done well and faithfully, according to his legal knowledge and understanding, and he signed, dated as above. (Signed) Luis Lioteau.

Note: When a collection is made of the 2000 pesos (2100?) owed the succession by Captain Baltasar de Villiers, it must be divided according to the tenor of this partition, as it is community profits. One-half goes to the Widow and the other one-half must be divided among the three children. Dated as above. (Signed) Luis Lioteau.

Luis Lioteau sets forth that, through lack of instruction from the heirs, he has been obliged to make the partition of the Tarascon estate twice. It is not just that he should be made to suffer though their fault, therefore he prays the Court to order the present Escribano to adjust his fees for this second partition, noting that he has already been allowed 30 pesos for the first one. Nicolas Forstall on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: As it is prayed.

New Orleans, April 21, 1785. Fees for the final account and division made by the Judicial Accountant are adjusted at 80 reales, and for his own fees for this work 15 reales, save error and omissions. (Signed) Perdomo.

Antonio Mendez states that more than four months ago Mrs. Lorreins was ordered to pay the last costs of this case, and although he has requested her to do so several times he has been unable to make collections, therefore he prays the Court to order one of her negroes placed in the public prison until such time as she complies with the said decree, the said order to be carried out by Nicolas Fromentin, Deputy Sheriff. Nicolas Forstall rules: If the payment of the abovesaid costs, including this representation, and fees to the Deputy Sheriff for notification are not made, seize one of Mrs. Llorens' slaves, as requested. (Signed) Forstall.

[Translator's Note: The record ends here; doubtless the Widow made a settlement out of Court.—L. L. P.]

(To be continued.)

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933, of The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, published at New Orleans, for October 1, 1940. State of Louisiana, Parish of East Baton Rouge, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and Parish aforesaid, personally appeared Walter Prichard, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publishers, and the editor, are:

Publisher, The Louisiana Historical Society, The Cabildo, New Orleans, La.; Editor, Walter Prichard, University, La.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, None.

2. That the owner is The Louisiana Historical Society.

There are no stockholders; the officers are: E. A. Parsons, President; Andre Lafargue, First Vice-President; James Wilkinson, Second Vice-President; Frank H. Waddill, Third Vice-President; J. Fair Hardin, Vice-President; William A. Read, Vice-President; William Boizelle, Recording Secretary; Henry M. Gill, Corresponding Secretary; Walter Prichard, Editor; J. B. Donnes, Treasurer.

(Signed) WALTER PRICHARD, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of October, 1940.

(SEAL)

JULIUS E. KNIGHT, Notary Public. (My commission expires—Life.)